

Sachchidananda Sinha Commemoration Volume

EDITED BY
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Mr. J. H. P. (left) and Mr. J. H. P. (right) in 1911.

FOREWORD.

It was more than two years ago that the idea of presenting a Commemoration Volume to Dr. Sachchidananda Sinha was conceived at Allahabad by Mr. K. Iswar Datta, editor of the 'Twentieth Century, and, now, the Director of Publicity to the Government of H. E. H. the Nizam of Hyderabad (Dn). It was he who first set about collecting the necessary materials for this volume. The credit, therefore, for laying the nucleus of its contents is due to him. Owing, however, to some personal difficulties, Mr. Iswar Datta could not pursue his much-cherished objective, and this work, therefore, remained suspended till about a year ago, when, thanks to the initiative and encouraging assistance of Mr. Syed Ahsan Shere, Curator, Patna Museum, the idea was again revived. Mr. Shere's co-operation was invaluable in organising a Committee for this purpose, and in collecting further materials for this Volume.

It was originally proposed to complete this Volume and present it to Dr. Sinha on his retirement from the Vice-chancellorship of the Patna University. But due to circumstances beyond control, particularly the abnormal difficulties in the matter of the availability of paper and facilities of press-work, the publication was delayed beyond expectation. It was, however, completed in time, to be presented to Dr. Sinha on his seventy-fifth birthday, which fell on the 10th November last, but the work of its formal presentation had again to be deferred till now owing to the disturbed situation in the province.

We offer our grateful thanks to all those who have sent their contributions to this volume, in the form of Messages, Appreciations and Special Articles. We are particularly indebted to that doyen of Indian journalists, St. Nihal Singh, who has contributed, as Introduction to this volume, a brilliant and intimate life-sketch of the recipient of this Commemoration Volume. Our special thanks are also due to the United Press Limited, of Patna, particularly to its two functionaries, Shri Radhey Shyam Ji and Shri Jugal Kishore Ji, but for whose help and co-operation, it would not have been possible for this publication to appear even now. Messrs Publicity Ltd., of Patna, also, deserve our grateful appreciation for undertaking the preparation and meeting the cost of most of the blocks printed in this volume.

Lastly, a word of apology. Nobody could be more conscious than its editor of the fact that a volume more substantial and comprehensive in contents and scope should have been got up for the purpose of dedicating it to a personage of Dr. Sinha's eminence. Its deficiencies, however, are solely due to the editor's own limitations. He can only hope to make it up by the esteem and affection with which he offers this volume to Dr. Sinha as a token of his own humble tribute to him.

Dr Sachchidananda Sinha,

We deem it a privilege to present to you this Commemoration Volume as our humble tribute of admiration to your long and distinguished record of public service, extending over more than half a century. Your great achievements in various spheres of life are a standing testimony to your versatility. As an eminent lawyer, a veteran publicist, an erudite man of letters, a seasoned politician, a capable administrator, a renowned educationist, and an experienced organiser, you have made a unique contribution to the progress of the Province. Indeed, you have touched nothing that you have not adorned. As the first elected Deputy President of the Indian Legislative Assembly, and the first Indian Finance Member in the country, you displayed a rare capacity for conducting public affairs and public administration. As the first truly non-official Vice-Chancellor of the Patna University, for a record period of nearly nine years, for four successive terms, you fostered phenomenal progress of higher education in the province. You have conducted, with singular ability for nearly half a century, an English monthly of international reputation (the *Hindustan Review*), while your speeches and writings have been appreciated for their high literary merit. Your princely endowment of the Sinha Library and the Radhika Sinha Institute, to the public of Behar, is a living example of your generosity. As one whose life is a model of method, order and discipline, whose heart flows with the milk of human kindness, who has such an abiding sense of humour, who is an inveterate host, who has truly imbibed the best that is in the cultures of the East and the West, you have drawn universal respect and love. Your multiplicity of interests, and catholicity of sympathies, are truly astonishing; and though you have attained more than three score years and ten, it may justly be said of you, that age cannot wither nor custom stale your infinite variety. As the maker of modern Bihar you have laid all Beharis under a debt which generations of them can hardly repay. We offer you this volume as a mark of our esteem and affection, and pray that you may be spared long to guide and inspire us, and to enjoy well-earned rest and a long, happy and peaceful life.

TEJ BAHADUR SAPRU
KHWAJA MUHAMMAD NOOR
RAJIVRANJAN PRASAD SINHA
ANUGRAH NARAYAN SINHA
KRISHNA BALLABH SAHAY
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SYED MAHMUD
BADRI NATH VERMA
ABDUL QAYUM ANSARI
BINODANANDA JHA
BHUVANESHWAR PRASAD SINHA
CHANDRESHWAR PD. NARAYAN SINHA
P. C. LAL
P. K. SEN
BALDEVA SAHAY
SRI NARAYAN MAHTHA
JAGLAL CHOUDHRY
BRIJ RAJ KRISHNA
S. A. SHERE
P. N. GOUR

SOME IMPORTANT DATES IN DR. SACHCHIDANANDA SINHA'S LIFE

1. Born at Arrah (Bihar) on 10th November, 1871.
2. Educated at Arrah Zila School (1877 to 1888). Passed the Matriculation Examination of the Calcutta University from T. K. Ghosh's Academy (Patna) in 1888.
3. Joined the Patna College in July, 1888, and then the City College, at Calcutta, in September, 1889.
4. Left India for studies in England on 26th December, 1889. Arrived in London in February, 1890.
5. Joined the Middle Temple (London) for Law studies in April, 1890.
6. Called to the Bar (Middle Temple) on 26th January, 1893.
7. Joined the Roll of Advocates of the High Court of Judicature at Calcutta in April, 1893, at Allahabad in November, 1896, and at Patna in March, 1916.
8. Married Shrimati Radhika Devi, daughter of Mr. Seva Ram, Bar-at-Law, and grand-daughter of Rai Bahadur Kanhaya Lal of Lahore, on 25th July, 1894.
9. Founded the monthly "Hindustan Review" in July, 1900 which he has been editing since.
10. Presided at the Bihar Provincial Conference in April, 1909, at Bhagalpur.
11. Twice elected member, Imperial Legislative Council, in January, 1910 and then in September, 1919.
12. Worked as Secretary to the Reception Committee of the Twentieth Session of the Indian National Congress, held at Patna in December, 1912.
13. Presided at the Agra and Oudh Provincial Conference in April, 1913, at Cawnpore.
14. Toured extensively in Europe in 1914, 1927 and 1933.
15. Worked as a member of the Indian Congress Delegation which went to London in 1914, to discuss with the Secretary of State for India about the reorganisation of the India Council.
16. Elected member, Indian Legislative Assembly in December, 1920.
17. Elected as the first Deputy President of the Legislative Assembly in February, 1921.

18. Appointed as Member of the Executive Council of the Governor of Bihar and Orissa in May 1921 and worked in this capacity as the first Indian Finance Member till 1926.
19. Founded the famous public institution called the Shrimati Radhika Sinha Institute and Sachchidananda Sinha Library the premier Public Library in the province of Bihar and one of the best-equipped in the country (now containing approximately 30 000 volumes and 200 journals) in February, 1924
20. Acted as the Chairman Reception Committee of the Bihar Provincial Hindu Conference, Patna (1927) of the Twentieth Session of the Bihar Co-operative Federation Congress (1938) and the Fourth Session of the All India Library Conference (Patna) 1940
21. Represented India at the International Press Conference at Geneva in August, 1927
22. Addressed the East India Association, London on the Working of Dyarchy in October 1927
23. Presided at the Thirtyfifth Session of the All India Kayastha Conference (Delhi) in March 1929
24. Worked as a Member of the Patna University (Nathan) Committee of the Orissa Boundary Committee (1930-31), and the All India Press Advisory Committee (1943—) etc.
25. Was specially invited (while in England in 1933) by the Joint Parliamentary Committee on Indian Reforms to appear before it, submitted a detailed written memorandum on the White Paper from the viewpoint of constitutional nationalists
26. Presided at the All India Hindu Conference (Mashhad) in 1934
27. Appointed the first non-official Honorary Vice-Chancellor of Patna University in August 1936 and held this office for four years, extending over nearly nine years
28. Presided at the Third Session of the Hindustani Mahasabha (Allahabad) in 1937
29. Was conferred by the All India Muslim League the degree of Doctor of Letters (Honoris causa) in 1938
30. Worked as Chairman of the Bihar State Reform Committee (1942)
31. Addressed the Congress at the Patna University (1943) and the Bihar University (1944) and the All India Congress (1945)

*Important Writings of
Dr Sachchidananda Sinha*

- 1 THE PARTITION OF BENGAL ON THE
SEPARATION OF BIHAR (1907)
- 2 SPEECHES AND WRITINGS
(Second Edition 1912)
- 3 KASHMIR THE PLAY HOUSE OF A IN
(Third Edition 1917)
- 4 SOME PRINCIPAL IDEAS OF THE
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- 5 EQUALITY THE FORT AND HIS MESSAGE
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Introduction

A LONG-DISTANCE INTELLECTUAL COMPANION

By
ST. NIHAL SINGH

Enshrined way, way back in my mind is an image. This image is of my father's fashioning. He made it to vivify success for me. He meant success to be a living, moving entity.

This image was produced in my childhood days. It must have been created very late in the eighteen-eighties or early in the eighteen-nineties.

The place of manufacture was Lahore—the largest city in my natal province and its capital. It must have been during my first visit to it, at any rate, during an early visit.

Objective-minded, Father drew my attention to a building, looking as if it were fresh from the builders' hands. We must have been walking past it, or possibly driving in an open carriage belonging to Bhagat Ishwar Das M. A., L.L.B., a school-mate of his, then an advocate of the Chief Court (as the highest tribunal in the Punjab was still called), whose guests we were.

"Can you tell me," Father asked, "who erected this magnificent pile?" It may have been the Chief Court. Or it may have been the Anglican Cathedral. I cannot definitely say which, or even if either. Memory does not yield that bit of this sound-picture.

"How can I?" I replied.

"A very great engineer. The greatest *Indian* engineer"

"Is he, indeed?"

"Yes. He attended the very first engineering class that was formed at Rurki*—the very first. Rurki is a town in the adjoining province. It is not far from Hardwar. I shall take you to it one of these days—show you the college. It is worth seeing.

"This engineer of whom I am telling you got ahead of all his fellow-students. He did this from the start. He kept ahead of them all the time. He beat them at all the examinations. He passed out first. This was in 1849. (This detail I learnt later)"

* Roorkee, in Anglo-Indian parlance, ,

That brilliant record he carried from the college into the engineering service. He always remained ahead of his fellows. He was good to making and to maintaining roads and buildings. After some years he was promoted from the ranks of assistant engineers. He was placed in charge of a district at first on trial. So satisfactorily did he discharge his duties that he was made *pukka* (confirmed).

"He was the first Indian to achieve that distinction. Even now I believe no other Indian occupies the position of District Engineer" (This, remember was half a century ago—not to-day or even yesterday)

"And this structure?" I asked

Why have I not told you? He built this. Not only this. Nearly every government building in Lahore that looks now was erected by him."

"Father" I said, you have not told me his name."

"Rai Bahadur Kenhiya Lal"

I remember to this day how Father rolled out the words "Rai Bahadur". That title then meant far more than it does now. There were very few Rai Bahadurs at that time.

I remember too the homily that Father read me on this occasion. "You may not care to become an engineer," he remarked "but whatever you do in life in one particular respect you must be like the Rai Bahadur. You must keep ahead of your fellows. You must always remain first."

Years later I learnt that the Rai Bahadur was not a Punjabi as I then had taken it for granted that he was. He was a Hindustani as we of "the land of the Five Rivers" call people hailing from the trans-Jamuna tract. He was born at Jalesar now in the Etah District of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh. He spent his adult life in the Punjab and used to live in a house in the Matti ka Chauk in Lahore. People spoke of it as "palatial" and with the notions of those days well they might.

||

I little knew at the moment that this conversation would run through my mind again and again in after life. Even less did I suspect that it would form the recurring undertone of an intellectual companionship which was to swell and to sweeten as the years rolled on and powerfully affect my being.

How could it be otherwise? Sachchidananda Sinha's life was to be linked with Lahore. That forging took place some years later in 1894 to be precise.

The link was a girl—Rai Bahadur Kenhiya Lal's granddaughter Shrimati Radhika Devi, or Bibi Radben, as to us she was known. She was at the time

* If Ganga Ram later made a Rai Bahadur and later still Knighted, he had not been promoted District Engineer by then, he must have been soon afterwards.

this conversation with my father took place, in the Punjab, or even in India. With her father, Lala Sewa Ram, her mother and an aunt, she, a wee thing, was sojourning in London.

This aunt was unconsciously but potently the forger of the link between Sachchidananda Sinha and myself. Bibi Har Dayee—as Punjabis called her—was Sewa Ram's sister. Led into matrimony while merely a child, as was the custom in Hindu India in the eighteen-seventies, she had been widowed when only sixteen or seventeen years of age or even less.

Had she submitted to the unwritten law, then universally enforced and silently obeyed I may never have heard of her. My link with Sachchidananda Sinha would certainly not have been forged through her, in fact, at her house.

Love, however, entered her young breast. Tradition sought to nip it in the bud. It whispered into her ear.

"A widow has no concern with love. Pluck it out, root and branch."

She had good cause to know that, in this matter, tradition was, for a high-caste Hindu girl like herself, inflexible. It was, indeed, no less inexorable than the laws of our Iranian neighbours and cousins, the Medes and Persians.

Har Devi did not wince nor quail. She gathered all the resources within her to defy the tradition.

Defy it she did. Successfully.

III

As the incident was related to me, it happened, nearly a half-century ago, in this wise:

Sewa Ram insisted upon going to London to study law. His father feared that he may turn *Kristan* (Christian). Or worse still, bring back an English wife. Girls over there were supposed by our stay-at-home people to perform *jadoo* (magic). That *jadoo* had a powerful effect upon strangers within their gate. If go the young man must, the Rai Bahadur insisted that he take his life mate along with him.

This procedure was fixed upon on the spur of the moment. It was to be applied to a situation that was wholly new. The interdiction against crossing the *kalapani* (the black water) was then absolute. I have no recollection of any Hindu who had as yet gone abroad for study, save one, of whom I shall write presently.

So that the young wife may not feel lonesome among strangers, in a foreign land, it was decided that the sister-in-law should go along with the couple. Then, too, if left behind, Har Devi herself might feel lonely. The stay abroad would at least be a change—would provide diversion for the widowed girl. No one could have dreamt that her destiny—and the destiny of a young law student—had beckoned her there.

This student was Roshao Lal. He too was a Hindustani educated in the Punjab. A friend of Sewa Ram's he had been in London a year or two.

Whether Sewa Ram entered the son of Court that Roshan Lal had joined or not I cannot now recall. The two met frequently and became cronies.

In London a free atmosphere the ladies could not lead their life separated from men as they had done in the Punjab. It was, therefore, inevitable that Roshao Lal should be presented to Har Devi. He must have already seen her in fact, in Lahore, when visiting his friend. So at least is my belief.

This is not the place to ponder the mental struggle that must have been the high caste Hindu lady's prior to her consenting to bestow her hand upon that young man. Roshan Lal seemed never to have had any qualms about the union. For him the world held only one woman—Har Devi. He married her by Arya Samaj rites, in 1891 in Lucknow where, after his return, he first set up practice. She remained his whole world till she died in 1926. He himself lived on in disconsolate, till 1932.

The Sewa Rams had a daughter—Radhika. She was three or four years old when they arrived in London.

A photograph taken, I believe in 1887 or 1888 shows her in a round, gold embroidered cap, coat, trousers and slippers. The face is small and the figure slight. The features reveal however a strength of will that was to grow with the years. If she could have had the eye of a seer she would have perceived that her life would be united, a half-dozen years or so later to that of a young man—who at the time was "eating dinosaurs" at the Middle Temple not very far from where she lived.

I cannot recall when the betrothal took place. It was possibly after her grandfather's death in 1888. He had retired from the "D. P. W."* the Department of Public Works, but three years earlier. Appreciative of the good work he had done and the vigour he still possessed the Government had appointed him Chairman of the Municipal Board in Lahore—the first non-European to serve in that capacity there.

Upon return to India after being called to the Bar, Sewa Ram did not feel like settling down in the Punjab. He went instead to Calcutta, was enrolled as an advocate of the High Court and began practice there. While thus engaged he contracted typhoid fever and succumbed to it in 1890.

The Punjab beckoned Roshan Lal. He shifted his law office to Lahore early in the nineties. By then his mother-in-law who was too old and too old-fashioned to change and had been kept in ignorance of her daughter's re-marriage had died.

* Now written as "P. W. D."—the Public Works Department.

V

Sachchidananda burst into my life early in this century.

“Burst” I use the word advisedly. A murky cloud then lowered over my head. From it, I feared, might descend, any moment, a bolt of wrath that would consume my new-born ambition—the ambition to be a great writer.

Upon entering my teens I had managed to push my toe into the Fourth Estate while keeping the rest of my being in the school world. Teachers and parents applauded my enterprise and pluck.

At that stage of life, however, one regards older persons as capricious. Their mood, I feared, might change any day and they may tether me, with a much shorter rope, to the texts prescribed by the university for students in the high schools within its jurisdiction. Before, however, that awe-inspiring cloud could discharge its contents of wrath upon my head, I had proceeded to college at Lahore. There Sinha’s intellectual effulgence burst upon me.

Oh ! Dear me !! How time has raced on since that day !

When I began sending my little pieces to the press, the nineteenth century was in its dotage. Vision was gone from both eyes. The dome above those sightless orbs was as smooth and shiny as an earthen pot (*tind*) that the eternally chug-chugging Persian wheel has just lifted above the well parapet and is still glistening with moisture. With palsied feet and tottering limbs, a babe not quit with crawling on all four could speed past the languishing century, any split second.

I, in my own estimation, was no babe. Mentally, at any rate. I had, in fact, a very high opinion of my own attainments. In his early teens any highly precocious boy, such as I must have been, does.

I was ever wasting money upon purchasing sheets of paper shot out of the inky beds of presses, then mostly run by hand and a few by steam (how the owners of these boasted—Munshi Gulab Singh, for instance, in Lahore, an enterprising Punjabi if ever there was one!). I made the rounds of the houses of family friends and brought back with me any and every daily, weekly or monthly that lay about.

Not satisfied with this haul, I lit upon a plan that, in my ignorance of world conditions, I deemed to be ingenious. I would write to the manager of a publication of which I had read in some journal, asking for a sample copy. Some of these worthies must have been poor business men or very credulous. I went on receiving issues sometimes for weeks and months, without being pressed to send in the subscription.

VI

One of the publications that, in the first year of this century, fell into my hands, bore the legend : *Kayastha Samachar*. How exactly this happened, I cannot

I recall. I must have read of it in some paper most probably in the *Tribune* (Lahore). Or it may have been that some Kayastha fellow student or a professor had been receiving it and I borrowed an issue of it.

From its front page darted into my heart words that found lodgment there for ever. Originally written to the United States of America on the closing day of 1829 by William Lloyd Garrison they read

"I will be as harsh as truth and as uncompromising as justice
I am so earnest: I will not equivocate: I will not excuse
I will not retreat a single inch and I will be heard."

So moved had Sachchidananda Sinha, who a month or two earlier had become editor of the *Samachar* been by these deathless words that when he converted the *Samachar* into *Hindustan Review* in 1903 they formed the motto of the new publication as they had been of the old organ. In them his mind was mirrored to me. They revealed his psychology.

VII

I cannot recall whether I first met Sinha before he had launched the *Review* or later. The meeting took place certainly in the early years of this century. During the long vacation or during the Easter or Christmas recess, he would visit the Punjab to see his wife's aunt and her husband, with whom his own life partner might be on a visit.

The Roshan Lal then lived in a house that the Rai Bahadur Kanhya Lal had expressly built for Har Devi near his own. It was a gathering point for young men mostly students from the colleges who considered themselves to be "progressives". I in my "undergrad" days, so regarded myself.

Har Devi was to us a heroine. Not content with setting others an example, she was conducting in the *nagari* (literally the language of the metropolis) now known as the Hindi a journal for women. She called it *Bharat Bhagini*—"India's Sisters".

How well do I remember my first sight of Sachchida! He took no end of pains with his personal appearance as he indeed does now nearly 45 years later. His cheeks and chin were closely shaved, his moustache neatly trimmed and pomaded. His array from top to bottom, shoes, was a symphony in dove-grey. I seem to remember that was his favourite colour even then. He affected a frock or cut away morning coat and striped trousers carefully creased and meticulously turned up.

The neatness of his mind as displayed by the words that effortlessly flowed from his lips attracted me even more than his correct taste in dress. I soon found that when he was a student he could no more concentrate upon tests prescribed

for extra reading advised as an "aid" for passing an examination than I did. That weakness, & weakness it was, formed a tie between us.

The call of politics was to him irresistible in his student days. He told us how it dragged him from his rooms near Patna College to Allahabad

There the third session of the Indian National Congress was being held in the Christmas week of 1888. The Pandit Ayudhia Nath (whose son, the Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru, is fighting for us so valiantly in every battle of freedom) was the chairman of the Reception Committee. A merchant prince from Calcutta—Andrew Yule—with a Scotsman's staunchness in the cause of liberty, had been invited to preside over the deliberations. Every one knew that, with an Anglo-Irish satrap (Sir Anthony, later the Baron, Macdonnell) dominating the provincial scene, the fur would fly. It did. Of this I have written else-where.

Sachchida, in his late teens, was glued to the chair assigned to him in the pandal, as long as anyone was speaking from the rostrum. Of all the orators he heard, none lifted him off his feet quite so much as a young Hindustani lawyer

Of the Malaviya Brahman sub-caste, this Vakil of the Allahabad High Court answered to the name of Madan Mohan. Sweet tempered was he, till some wrong done to some individual or group roused him. Then his thin, tallish figure would tremble with indignation. He was also silver-tongued. Not so very long out of college, he was struggling for a living at the bar. While waiting for briefs, he edited a paper—*Hindustan*—owned by a wealthy but patriotic landlord, the Raja Rampal Singh of Kalakankar—an estate (taluk) in that land of estates, Oudh.

A little later the Pandit visited Arrah. The sanguinary conflicts of which that town had, at times, been a focal point had almost ceased to echo there. It derived, however, distinction through being Sachchida's natal town.

The young, volatile spirit insisted upon taking the lawyer-leader-in-the-making to his ancestral home. So much attention and affection did he shower upon the guest that Malaviyaji, himself very emotional, was deeply affected. He suggested that the student play the host also in Patna, which place he visited a few weeks later. Nothing daunted, Sachchida entertained him in the rooms he rented near the college.

The most romantic incident of this period was to follow soon after. Desirous of short-circuiting the university, he had decided to proceed abroad, become a barrister and also see something of the world. The scholarship that he sought to secure to pay ship-owners, landladies, the inn-of-court treasurer and the like, remained only an aspiration. This did not, however, faze him. So insignificant a detail as finance would not. He knew that once he managed to get on board a steamer, money would follow. His relatives would not let him starve. In that calculation he was right.

So without notifying any one much less obtaining any one a blessing, he organized a farewell function at his rooms. To his dismay that gaily proceeded upon the flat roof of his rented house bathed in the effulgence of the moon at the full he had bidden every one from the college who was on affectionate terms with him. Judging by his power to poll, their number must have been legion.

As he was delivering his valedictory oration towards midnight a noise was heard. Footsteps of men scurrying upstairs made the revellers wary. They had cause to be nervous.

Kinsmen from Arrah had got wind of the design. They lost no time in following it.

Not for long though Sachchidas' mind was made up. No one even in authority over him could cause him to unmake it. This time he indulged in no farewells. He, indeed, slipped away so quietly that nothing was heard of him till he was safely speeding Adenwards.

Now Lakshmi (the goddess of wealth) chased him instead of he running after her. She saw to it that he never lacked cash for anything upon which he had set his heart.

This was in 1889. He was in his eighteenth year having been born on November 10 1871.

In England he did as he had done in India. He refused to take the shortest cut to the intellectual goal. Ever disdainful of blockers, he looked to the right and to the left. He was ever flying off the main road on a tangent as it appeared to observers inclined to be critical. He sometimes stubbed his toes because his eyes had not been glued upon the track on which he was travelling—because he did not for that reason see a stone. In time to avoid it. What sights—what sounds—however did his senses gather! What intellectual sustenance he derived from the harvests maturing to the fields into which he adventured!

While at the Middle Temple he would call at publishing houses, look at the books that had just been printed and were on display, finger some dip into a few and buy what he could not resist. He would never walk out of any of these places of business without arming himself with all the catalogues and lists that he could obtain. He supplemented them with those sent to him at his request by post or by messenger. But for this literary curiosity Sachchidananda could not have scored success with the *Hindustan Review* from the very start, as he did.

VIII

Soon after I met him I was off on travel bent. Across Asia I proceeded to North America. From town to town, country to country I speeded.



Mr S. Sinha as a Student at the Inns of Court at London (1890-92)

By the beginning of 1907 I had tired of being "ever on the wing"—a phrase then much in my mouth and prominently displayed in the left-hand corner of my printed letter-head. So I thought I would settle down, at least for a while.

Chicago, where this "homing instinct" manifested itself, was the largest city, but not the capital, of the state of Illinois, in the middle-west of the United States of America. For some six months daily journalism engrossed me there. In July of that year, however, I was persuaded by the good lady who had bestowed her hand and heart upon me to change my way of life.

Thenceforward I was pledged to turn my back upon the "ephemeral field" in which I had been labouring. I was to address myself to writing mainly, if not entirely, for worth-while magazines, reviews and quarterlies and, a little later, annuals, in both hemispheres; also to writing books.

Once, however, daily or weekly journalism has become one's patch, that patch calls one back. Insensibly, almost against my will, I was to find myself, and this again and again, plodding in that furrow in the years to come.

While I was in a state of exaltation over the new worlds I purposed to conquer, I thought of my encounter with Sachchida. He might have forgotten me. To him I must have appeared to be only a callow youth, possibly with a "swelled head." So, if he remembered me at all, his recollections might not do me much credit.

In the twenties one is daring, however. I had been writing articles for publications scattered over the world's surface, edited by persons totally unknown to me. That was my normal course any and every day of the year. So why shy at some one who, out of a chance meeting or two, might hold out a helping hand? Why, indeed?

Thinking thus I began dictating to my wife an article that was to knit me with Sachchida. The chamber in which she took down the dictation direct on a second-hand machine that she had bought some years back for five dollars, was small. It was situated at the back of the first floor of a cheap "rooming" (boarding) house in Hamilton Avenue, on the west side of that American city. It served as my parlour, study and bedroom, and, on occasion, also as my dining hall. The cooking was done in an adjoining room, though we seldom ate in the apartment.

The article dealt with the success achieved in various directions by people in North America. Even Negro-Americans were better off than Indians, who deemed themselves to be far ahead of the negroes in point of culture—better off by far. As I was finishing the typescript the appropriate title flashed into my brain. "Colour not the Coin that Buys Success." I headed the piece.

Hardly had I corrected the pages for typographical errors when I came to the conclusion that the article was much too long for any review. So I "ripped it

open" (this phrase showed the disgust of the lady who had to typewrite it afresh) What had been meant to be an introduction was turned into an article by itself. This I called "Opportunity in India and America"

In this title she revelled. The disgust at added labour was gone. I soon turned the concluding portion into another article. Above the original title I added another. It read "The Negro in America Colour Not the Coin That Buys Success"

Now there was a debate long and contentious. I was for sending the two articles together. My wife thought that was madness. It sorely would invite a rebuff. I yielded to her judgment. When we went out for a walk we took the first typescript to the General Post Office and mailed it to No. 7 Elgin Road Allahabad, the home of the *Hindustan Review* and also of its editor-proprietor.

Sachchidananda Sinha welcomed that contribution with cordiality that would have warmed a heart far cooler than mine in my mid twenties. What particularly pleased me was that I received from him much more than a note of acceptance.

Sachchida went out of his way indeed to tell me how he had been following my movements across Asia, the Pacific, the Dominion of Canada and the greater portion of the United States of America. This he had been left to do, he wrote from the perusal of articles from my pen that appeared in the daily and weekly press in India, many of them reprints from journals in North America and Britain and such accounts of my peregrinations as Englishmen, especially Frederick Grubb then the London Correspondent of the *Tribune* (Lahore) had been sending. He dwelled appreciatively upon the work I had been doing in Canada in defence of the rights and liberties of the Indian immigrants there.

This epistle the first I received from No. 7 Elgin Road Allahabad, captured my heart because of the intense personal interest it evoked in me and mine. It started a long-distance intellectual companionship that has strengthened as the years have lengthened and has been one of the keenest delights of my life.

As I remember it, articles went forward to Sachchida in fairly rapid succession. Not only did he speed the typescripts he received from me to the press, but he also usually gave them a prominent place in the *Review*. As if that were not encouragement enough he wrote to me letters often long and informative. Always friendly they in time became affectionate.

In one of them he told me that while the *Review* office remained at Allahabad he himself had shifted to Behar (at that time I had no idea that he was a Behari). Engaged in "paralytic practice" he gave sententious but vivid glimpses of judges, lawyers, litigants, the places he stopped at in fact anything and everything that happened to catch his eye and ear and was eddying in his mind. I seem to remember that I preserved these letters. They may be in our effects somewhere.

Where ? In England ? Or in U. S. A. ? I cannot say. When I get hold of them one of these days, I shall publish them.

I eagerly looked forward to the Indian mail, particularly because of these letters. In themselves intellectual feasts, they held out to me an invitation to recount to him my own roving (I had tired of Chicago in a few months and was out on the road, this time with my life-mate a gypsy like myself) the contacts I was making, the literary associations I was forming and the movements that were convulsing the people among whom I was living at the time. How easily words got hammered in those years, on to the page rolled over the platen of the typewriter ! How those pages were winged, mostly to a place called Bankipore, under which a portion of Patna in which my friend lived then masqueraded ! As the years rolled on this long-distance intellectual companionship gathered gear.

IX

I have never had the opportunity of comparing notes with any member of Sachchida's corps of contributors. So I cannot say whether others, too, have received from him the kind of encouragement that I did and that at a time when, for me, there were many literary stiles still to climb over and a helping hand, with his powerful grip, was a solace to the soul as well as physically sustaining

Seldom did I receive a letter from him in which he did not have something pleasant to say about my writings. He usually sent a cutting or two in praise of my work that he had made from his exchanges. Often he retailed to me what some friend or acquaintance of his had said of this article or that.

I particularly remember his writing me about a series of articles that appeared under the title "As An Indian (or sometimes a Hindu) Sees America". It proved to be lengthy, running from October, 1908 to September, 1911, and contained not far short of 45,000 words. (This is my wife's computation)

Sachchida wrote that many persons had talked to him about these articles. Among them he specially mentioned a Mr. Miller, then a Member of the Governor-General's Council. Miller, he added, was from North America. He knew their true worth (so I was informed)

Years later, when Sir John O. Miller retired from the Indian Civil Service and settled down near London, he and I met. "You are no stranger to me," he said one day at some function. "Why, think of the conversations that Sinha and I used to have about you in Calcutta and Simla."

"Are you from Canada ?" I asked him

"Yes," he replied. "The 'O' in my name stands for 'Ontario'."

Even when there was a lull in the Sinha-Singh intellectual exchange—and lulls there were inevitably—the *Hindustan Review* kept up the connection. The letter

carrier (America for postman) brought it pretty regularly During the summer there would be a "double number"

The very second time the *Review* failed to put in an appearance my wife, shrewd daughter of the prairie that she was, commented "Your friend must be enjoying himself to the hills He will make it up with good measure There will be a double number"

Then we two talked of the impulse that had generated the *Review*—that kept it going

There was no commercial talot to it. No Quite the contrary was the case It must in fact, be costing Sachchidananda Sinha a pretty penny

A high grade review such as he got out mooth by mooth would not have many subscribers were it conducted here (we lived in the United States of America then) In India the clientele must be very small indeed Especially the readers who bought the publication

Only intellectual craving must make Sachchida dip his hand in his pocket to pay printers bills. The pull must be patriotic too He must be swayed by the impulse to light from the lamp within him lamps in other people's hearts.

So we decided for ourselves. It was, I distinctly remember in St. Louis Missouri that we had our first talk about those double numbers The summer had been warm We had been walking alongside the Mississippi River—the "father of waters"

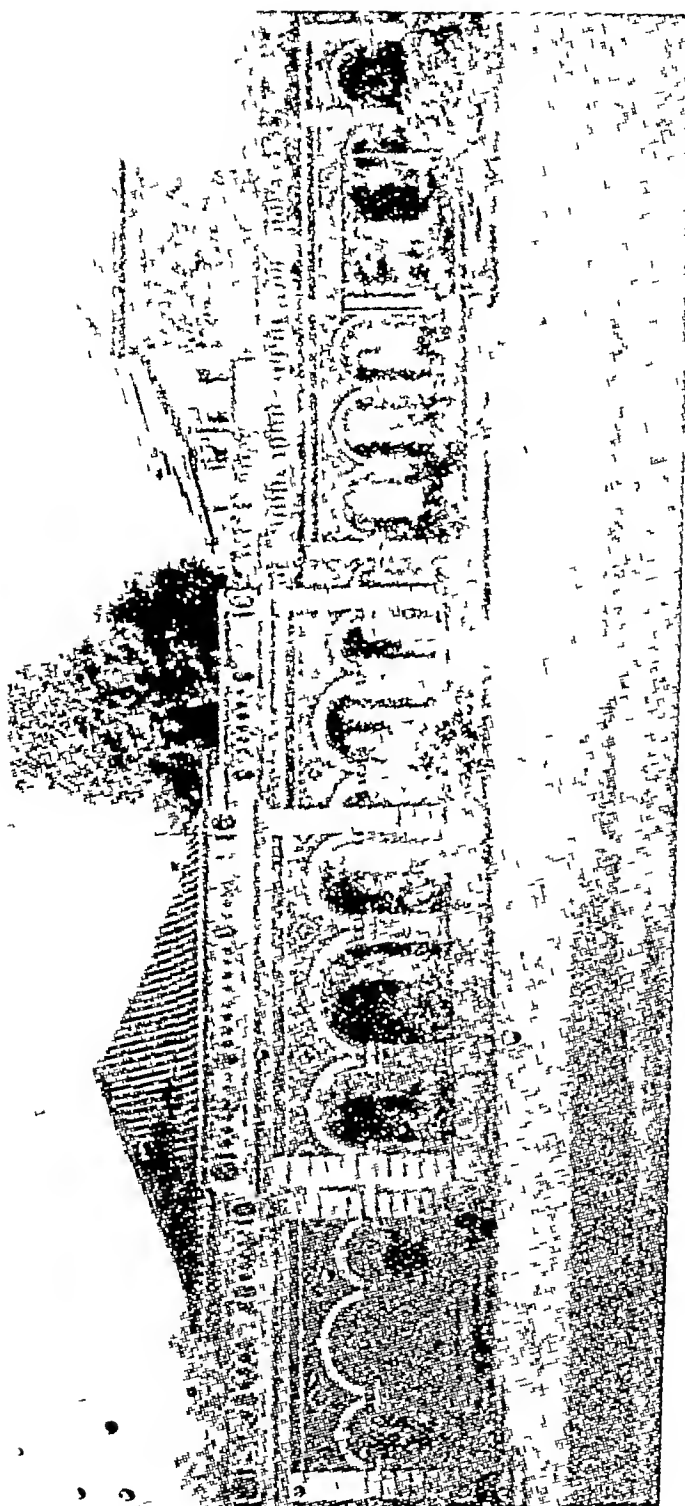
As a new issue of the *Hindustan Review* was received my wife would take possession of it. In her quick, nervous Exchange Editors way she would soon glance through its pages from cover to cover including the advertisements.

I invariably would turn towards the back of the issue There I would find the literary "features" the—book of the month," shorter reviews and notices sometimes a life sketch or necrology and the like These specially appealed to me Not till I was done with them would I look at the articles, even one of my own.

X.

It must have been when we were living in New York or Brooklyn (1909) or possibly a little later so when we were sojourning in London that I awoke to what had been happening for some time without my being conscious of it The cords that bound me to Sachchida were silken to be sure but no cow boys rope in Nevada or Arizona or Texas was too tough I felt that I had been lassoed by him and was being dragged away from the West

The process was gentle—not cow boyish In one letter I would be asked if my heart never yearned for the homeland In another the enquiry would be made



Dr S Sinha's House at 7 Elgin Road Allahabad (Built in 1897-98)

if all my life I meant my association with the Indian press to remain a long-distance one.

I recall an epistle in which I was told that some friends of Sachchida's had started or were starting a daily paper (*) in Allahabad. This caused quite a discussion in our two-member family.

How well I remember my wife's comment ! "A long-range lassoer, this editor-friend of yours is," she said.

"He might well be," I replied . "but this 'bronco' † is not lassoable"

She, herself a successful lassoer, might rightfully have laughed in derision : but being as wise as she was considerate, she let the matter drop.

Not Sachchida, however. I had not been six weeks in India (1910-11) when he had me on the way to Allahabad.

XI

I shall never forget that journey. It had been insufferably hot in Lahore, where we had been staying at Nedou's Hotel. The mercury had soared round about 116 (or was it 118 ?) degrees in the shade. Even during the hours of darkness it did not go down appreciably. Sleeping under a mosquito net was to my wife an entirely new and a wholly unpleasant experience. The heat made her still more rebellious at her fate. I paid a man to pull the *Punkah* over the twin beds but found to my chagrin that only by remaining awake myself could I keep him at his job for any length of time. The moment I relaxed my attention and closed my eyes he would doze off. That instant she would awake "I am in a sweat-bath," she would exclaim, "and even the sweat is not cooling !"

The train was even worse than had been the hotel bedroom. When it moved the compartment (I had not yet graduated from the 11 Class) was filled with air that was as hot as if it had come "from a furnace with the door open" my good lady's description of it. When the creaking of the revolving wheels as they passed over the fish-plates was followed by a jerky thud and we halted, may be to wait interminably, we thought, at some wayside station, we gasped for breath.

The worst was not reached till the train pulled into Allahabad (an eternity, it seemed to us, after leaving Lahore). It was near noon. The *loo* was blowing.

"This hot blast has not been expressly ordered for you," I assured her. "No I have been hearing of it since my baby days. It has a specific name. It is called the *loo*"

* The *Leader*,

† Horse of the native American species—a half wild mustang. The author, it must be remembered, has devoted more than half his adult life to writing for the United States of America and Canada. In his home the language used is generally American.

She looked at me searchingly in the effort to make out whether I was speaking in earnest or not. Then she replied lapsing into American slang "It may or may not be the *loo* but whatever it is it is a lulu." By "lulu" she meant to imply that it was superlative in degree.

As I opened the door of the compartment to alight, my eye fell upon a trim figure. It was sailing through the crowd. Sailing—yes, that is the word. No other word would describe it. It looked as if it had, just the moment before, walked out of a fashion-plate hung behind plate-glass in a Bond Street establishment in London specializing in tropical modes for men.

I am

Taking the words out of his mouth I announced to my wife who by then had got down from the compartment "This is my dear friend Sachchidananda Sinha."

Perhaps I spoke or gesticulated pompously. They both burst out in a laugh. I could do no other than join them. The *loo* was forgotten for the nonce.

While a factotum took charge of our "things" (how few were they in those days!), Sachchida got us out of the Depot (railway station) without loss of time and conducted us to a luxuriously appointed motor. As my eye roved over the Rolls Royce he remarked "It is not mine. I have borrowed it from a friend."

Upon that peg he hung with the same *sang froid* the statement: As a matter of fact, I am taking you to his place."

Reading some embarrassment in our faces or hearing some words that dropped from her or my lips, he added "You see I have no Goanese cook. But Pandit Moti Lal has one. You will be much more comfortable at his place "Anand Bhavan" than at No. 7 Elgin Road. He and I are more like brothers than friends."

To put us at ease he related this incident. Some years earlier Moti Lal Ji was in Patna on legal business. His client the Maharaja Lakshmeshwar Singh, or his younger brother and successor Maharaja Rameshwar Singh (I forget which) had made arrangements for the great lawyer's stay. The agent must have been an old-fashioned man. What did he know (any way) of the requirements of a westernized epicure like Moti Lal Nehru?

Sick of the arrangements that had been made for him Panditji sallied out of the Guest House and made straight for Sachchida's house. He found the master away. That small detail was of no consequence to him. He sent the servants in the vehicle in which he had come and bade them bring back with them all his luggage. In the meantime he obtained a telegraph form and sent Sinha the following message—

"Winding your house. Looking after your guests. Don't hurry back." Or words to that effect. I am writing entirely from memory.

Arrived at 'Anand Bhavan' in Allahabad, we were to find it suitably named. It was indeed "joyvilla".

Sachchida gave us five minutes to tidy up. When we hurried into the dining room we found him already there, seated at the table. The soup, salted and peppered with the savour of his piquant talk, put some life into us.

"What have you for us, boy?", very much the master of the house, he enquired of the waiter

"*Pate de fois gras*, Sir".

"Good. But is there also curry and rice?"

He had noticed that despite the *loo* our appetite was keen.

XII

This is not the place to attempt to draw a word-picture of Moti Lal Nehru, his days and ways, his palatial residence and his circle. Some American staying in it as its owner's guest might, upon return to "God's own country," have modelled the first night-club upon the "Anand Bhavan" pattern. Not being Moti Lal Nehru he (or was it she?) could not impart to it the high cultural tone—a blend of the best of the East and the West—as the patriotic lawyer had done. Some day I hope to present the public with a sketch of Panditji as I knew him for the nonce, the reader must be content with the articles that I published upon his death in 1931.*

Not many hours had I spent at Anand Bhavan when it developed that Sachchida had come to Allahabad at that time specially to entertain us. I had not remembered that the city alongside the *Sangam* had ceased years before to be his headquarters. Now it transpired that even earlier it had been in the nature of his chief centre of activity *pro tempore*.

I had almost forgotten that he was not a Hindustani. He was, on the contrary, a Behari—a very Behar-conscious Behari. He helped, in fact, to run a weekly propagandist organ seeking to bring about the separation of Behar from Bengal and its creation as a separate province. Such advocacy had made him suspect in many eyes—had brought him the ill-will of some persons powerfully placed in society and even in office. Few of his colleagues in the agitation were prepared to go to the extremes that he was time and again dragging them into. There was criticism from within as from without. He, however, went on with the work non-chalantly.

But for the effort he put into the cause, that cause might easily have foundered. That effort, too, would have been unavailing had he not "jollied along" people, sometimes himself retreating into the background so that others might have the credit that, in point of fact belonged to him.

* The Modern Review, March 1931

For a man with this "bee in his bonnet" to reside outside the "province" of his nativity would have been a folly that his shrewd sense would never sanction. The years that he had lived in Allahabad had been spent there through compulsion.

In the early days of his practice in Patna, (after he had been enrolled as an advocate of the Calcutta High Court in 1893) he had contracted malaria of a malignant type. To free his system of the virus he had been advised to change his place of residence. This proved to be a somewhat slow process. It kept him in Allahabad I seem to remember for six years. He however got back to Bihar as soon as he safely could.

XIII

Much of these intimate talks took place at No 7 Elgin Road, the house to which my early letters from the United States of America had been directed and to which he would carry me while Moti Lal Ji studied his briefs in the morning. It was a long, generously proportioned, one storied structure built in the bungalow style (my wife's phrase). Its exterior was given a warm pink tint. This went well with Sachchida's genial nature—his genius for friendship.

We sat always in one verandah or the other chatting away to our hearts' content, on any and every subject that entered our heads at the moment. No one ever disturbed us.

Sometimes a little fellow would go past—shyly keeping at a distance. This was my friend's nephew—now a Rai Sahib running the University Library at Patna.

No matter where the talk started—no matter how it proceeded nor for how long it always drifted to one topic. My future—my immediate future. When were my gypsy days to end? Was India to get the fullest benefit from what I had learnt of journalism in various parts of the world?

No disparagement was meant of my contributions to Indian journals from abroad. So I was assured. No. No at all.

What was really needed was however clearly indicated. It was that I should settle down in India. Here for instance Allahabad was as good a place as any—in fact far better than many. Moti Lal Ji had his daily here.

The thing for me to do was to apply myself from day to day to the questions as they arose. What a contribution could not I with my finger on the pulse of time make to the welfare and progress of my people. And so on.

If I had not tired of world-wandering Sachchida would declare my wife must have wearied of it. She in fact had. So he assured me. Poor thing! She had been dragged at my chariot wheels over her own country. Europe and now India. Women are essentially home-bodies. They like to indulge their instincts of home-making. They should be given the chance to do so. They were entitled to it.



As I listened to these words of wisdom, I saw the barrister at work—pleading and suggesting—insinuating himself into the bosom of the jury, if not also of the judge. I saw, too, the workings of a heart welling with love for the country of our birth—and for me.

Sachchida hung around that insufferably hot place—it was late in June, just before the break of the monsoon—for a week (or was it longer?) To do so he must have sacrificed some briefs and rearranged others.

By the time he was forced to go back to his beloved Behar, as I had shown no fancy for the tether that he had so kindly chosen for me, Moti Lal Ji persuaded me to stop on a little longer.

Who would not have liked to stay on and on at "Anand Bhavan"? Even when my wife and I did finally leave, our hearts were heavy with sorrow at parting from the owner—as gracious and genial a host as I ever expect to meet in this or any other world?

XIV

The Pandit Moti Lal Nehru provided me with a peep-hole into one particular side of Sachchida's capability. I had been talking of the Indian disposition to lean upon alien crutches. "Why," I said, "we hire Englishmen even to do our agitating in England for self-government for India—even the conductors of our nationalist papers cannot find Indians over there to serve as their correspondents. We see the world through English spectacles placed by us against eyes already filled with light conducted through British-controlled schools and colleges."

"As to that," remarked Panditji, "as to that, you do not know our Sinha Sahib's brilliant performance. You put a packet of cuttings received by the English mail upon a desk and with it some paper, a pen or pencil, scissors and paste. Then you push him into the room and lock the door upon him. In an hour or two you will have a 'London Letter.' And I will go bail for it that it will be newsy and certainly far better written and more interesting to read than any sent from over there."

A few weeks later I did see Sachchida at work. He was not turning out a "London Letter" while seated in some Indian city, nor was he at his beloved law work, that in those days was ever and again tempting him away from his real vocation—journalism—literature. No, He was writing for a daily paper—and the newspaper was issued from Lahore—the *Tribune*.

Sachchida had but recently arrived in Simla, where I had been established for several weeks in the Royal Hotel, now, I believe, defunct. He had come to attend the "Imperial Legislative Council," to which he had been elected not long before from some constituency in the Lower Provinces of Bengal (Behar). The session was

to be a notable one. A measure highly restrictive of the freedom of speech that had been in the Indian statute book was about to lapse. The officials were determined to renew its life.

Sinha provided Sachchida with plenty of material for passing on with his shrewd comments and humorous, often tart criticism to the general public. Sundar Singh Bhatia, who was acting as editor of the *Tribune* while the management was hunting up presumably some other Bengali to fill the editorial chair permanently found the letters from Sinha of absorbing interest and gave them the prominence they deserved. I for one was fond of Sundar but he had many detractors. Among these was a former class-fellow of his who had risen to a position of some importance and was happy when the man with whom he had grown up was not confirmed as editor. He must have writhed however when he saw that the job went to a Bengali, he being a Bengali-hater as were many Indians of his generation. That contagion I escaped entirely because the Bengalis with whom I came in contact during my early years were men of noble character and no small intellectual attainments and they helped to turn my mind towards larger and higher things.

I liked the deft manner in which Sachchida handled delicate and contentious topics. With a jocond remark he often dismissed a subject towards which a less experienced writer would have directed a barbed shaft and by so doing would perhaps have got the paper or himself into trouble. But, then, he belonged to the craft that derives its living—often a fat living—by showing the paymaster the way to escape the consequences of folly and worse.

This running commentary must, nevertheless, have riled many a governmental god dwelling upon that Olympian crest, in scrupulous surroundings, sequestered from the sweltering mob down below. So carefully were the words chosen, however, that even the Home Member—Sir John Jenkins a peppery Bombay Civilian—could take no exception to what was printed. His second-in-command—Sir Archdale Earle—had as Collector and Commissioner spent years in Patna—and being quieter and better tempered must have often been amused by the sallies.

The Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya occupied rooms in the hotel. Near ours. We often laughed at the flings that the "special correspondent" of the *Tribune* had at frailties in high quarters.

The Legislative Council was, I seem to remember held at the time in a hall of the Viceregal Lodge in Simla. Some chairs were placed at the end of the room in which sat the few hand-picked visitors.

As the special commissioner in India of a dozen British and American news-

papers, I was one of these lucky mortals. My seat was, in fact, so close to that occupied by Mazhar-ul-Haque, a crony of Sachchida's, that he, as the Councillors wagged their tongues, would pass me slips with facetious remarks pencilled upon them.

Nothing of the thrust and parry was missed by the pair of eyes that the Kayastha Member from Behar carried in his head. Nor was he content to sit quietly while others, mostly older than himself, talked.

This being the first time that I had heard my friend speak in public, much of what he said has remained in my mind. He condemned the Seditious Meetings Act. Lord Minto's Government was asking the legislature to extend its term.

Sachchida said it placed an engine of oppression in the hands of the police. They were given power not only to break up gatherings of twenty or more persons, but, on the pretext of doing so, to invade even private premises. In his lawyer's manner he pleaded that such a measure had better be permitted to die out, as it automatically would in some five months' time. If need ever existed—and he denied that it had—that need had disappeared. In his view the Criminal Procedure Code gave the executive all the authority it might ever require.

Coming, as he did, from Patna he took a serious objection to the Central Government making this move. Nothing had happened in his province, or in its neighbour—the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh—represented by Malavya Ji—that would justify any such re-enactment. If any provincial government (Local Government was, if I remember aright, Sachchida's phrase) felt the need, it could use the legislative machinery it possessed to secure a measure for application within its jurisdiction. He deprecated and even resented, as a reflection upon the loyalty of the Beharis and the "Upians," any attempt to carry the law beyond the term for which it had been originally enacted.

As I remember, the speech lasted only a few minutes. It lacked the pyrotechnics that lit up passages in statements made by some of the other members, notably Bhupendra Nath Basu's. It was, however, instinct with sincerity and patriotic fervour. I was so impressed with it that at the end of the meeting I went up to Sachchida and warmly congratulated him upon it.

. XVI

With his cheery face and blithe ways, Sachchida seemed to be very popular with his fellows. Uncommonly so with many of them.

Not, however, with some of the Bengalis then in Simla. As one of them told me point blank, they detested his "separatist tendencies." He was known to cherish designs upon the rich agricultural and richer mineral lands of Behar and Orissa. Ever since he had returned from London as a full-fledged barrister, he had been

agitating for the separation of these from Bengal often through others insisted Dr Sir Rash Behari Ghosh

Sachchida had never made any secret of his ambition to raise Behar to the status of a separate province. If he pushed forward friends of his, it was not because he wished to escape responsibility—or rather culpability for as it was in his opponents' view. No generous impulse actuated him. He longed that some associate of his, better qualified or not, should obtain whatever kudos might be going.

In September 1910 I left Simla for the Punjab. I was particularly eager to see what was happening in the "Canal Colonies"—to see what sort of life was developing in the wake of water brought by irrigation engineers. That region had been a seemingly interminable stretch of sandy waste in my childhood.

By the train in which I was travelling also went down the Mian (later Sir) Mubarrat Shah. He and his cousin Shah Din, then a judge of the High Court, had known me since I was a boy.

Notwithstanding this a Scot friend had insisted upon introducing me to Shah a few months earlier, on the eve of my departure from London. This was Sir Theodore Morison, who upon retiring from the Muhammadan Anglo-Oriental College (now the Muslim University) at Aligarh, had been appointed to the India Council. Struck with my success in world journalism, he wrote to his friend in Lahore of the important newspaper commissions that were taking me to India. While in Simla Shah would come up to our rooms in the Royal Hotel. He was generally accompanied by (Sir) Zulfiqar Ali Khan of Maler Kotla, a little later the Prime Minister of Patiala. We would chat away over a cup of tea, oblivious of the flight of time. I knew that he hankered after the Law Membership.

I knew too that "S. P."—as Satyendra Prasanna (later the Baroo) Sinha was spoken of by his familiars—was thoroughly sick of that job. In my view the disgust did not originate primarily through financial loss.

It is true of course that he had exchanged legal practice that was said to have brought him Rs. 20,000 per mensem, for the high-st office till then available to an Indian at Rs. 6,600 a month. His wife had never forgotten this loss, so I had been assured by Bhupen Barua who in a stray hat used now and again to walk up the long flight of stairs to my rooms in the Royal Hotel.

I am ready to admit that only an angel could forget such a sacrifice, and "S. P." who at first sight made me one of his circle never set himself up as such. I am sure however that he would not have worried about it if his politics had suited our people. Hyper-sensitive he suffered agonies at the criticism that was levelled at him—speakers and writers referred to him as the manufacturer of the

gags for the press and platform. They charged him, with complacently becoming the bureaucracy's tool for vitiating, through rules, such beneficent intentions as Parliament had embodied in the Government of India Act of 1909

How miserable he used to look as my wife and I encountered him, nearly every evening, walking, generally accompanied by two of his daughters. That picture shall not lose a line or a tone so long as anything of memory remains to me.

XVII

Lord Minto's inclinations left no doubt in any one's mind that the next Law Member would be a Muslim. Who? Speculation was rife. Every Hindu I knew said that no one of anything like "S P.'s" calibre could be found amongst Muslims. What Hindu was, however, likely to be heard in that matter?

Shafi did not obtain the coveted plum. Not just then. It went to a Muslim of whom most Indians had, at the time, heard little. That little had not predisposed them in his favour. Nothing like it.

Syed (later Sir) Ali Imam—to me for years prior to his death "Bhai Sahib"—was Sachchida's fellow-Behari and friend. It was whispered he was his "candidate" for the office.

Before this appointment had been announced, I was back in Fleet Street. I learnt through a source that, in journalistic cant, would be described as "unimpeachable," of the part that Sachchida had played. He had actually borne the "offer" to Ali Imam.

What was more, he found the "Standing Counsel to Bengal Government's, as Bhai Sahib at that time was, very eager to throw up his job. That job, with the fat fees attached to it, was far more lucrative than the Law Membership of the Central Government. So Sachchida, with his genius for friendship, found plenty of scope for exercising his powers of persuasion. Well it was that he possessed these powers and exerted them for Ali Imam in that office rendered unforgettable service to the Motherland.

XVIII

Some pressure was exerted upon me by several English and American editors to go back to India that autumn (1911) to write up the Coronation Durbar soon to be held at Delhi. I, however, had witnessed the Coronation of King George V and Queen Mary in the Westminster Abbey at his Majesty's command. I had, moreover, had 11 months in the Motherland in 1910-11.

So I told my editor-friends that they would find me far more useful in London than in Delhi. They did. What a pot of money I saved them in telegraphic expenses, not to speak of passages and train fares. While seated in our flat near Hampstead Heath, I manufactured for them columns upon columns of

"background matter" as we would now say in our journalistic circles. If put together they would make a good sized volume. Cheques, often drawn by generous hands kept the kettle boiling over our cook-stove for many a long week.

Ali Imam was credited with having worked the oracle that led to the creation of Behar as a separate province in exchange for tearing up the Curzonian parchment authorising the partition of Bengal. Sachchida helped him to remove the great stumbling block that stood in the way.

The Bengal, from which Behar and Orissa were to be parted, enjoyed at the time the Council type of Government. Though the Executive Council was a mixed blessing how could people who under the existing dispensation enjoyed it be expected to surrender it cheerfully?

If however Behar upon separation received this gift, there might be an out-cry from the province to the west, or from the Punjab. They would demand similar treatment. This the bureaucracy would not like.

Sachchida it was who I was credibly informed, solved the problem. He did it in a few hours. Looking up books on constitutional law he found a way to throw dust in all prying eyes. He is a great hand at that sort of performance as was Bhai Sahib Ali Imam.

His proposition was that Behar be given a Lieutenant Governor in Council (there were no Governors then outside the two presidencies of Bombay and Madras). The legal and constitutional pundits would jump to the conclusion the moment they saw that phrase. Of that he was he said perfectly convinced in his mind that it meant a Legislative Council. In law however it signified just one thing—an Executive Council.

Immediately Ali Imam heard Sachchida say this he felt that Behar was as good as separated from Bengal and endowed with all the provincial attributes that the most ambitious of Beharis could desire. The one obstacle that had seemed insuperable had been removed. This incident was related to me by Bhai Sahib himself (*). He chuckled as he remembered the chagrin of the lawyers they foiled. How well sharpened in Inns of Court and courts of judicature derive delicious joy out of such a performance.

XX

I heard oftener from Sachchida than he did from me during those days. My work in Britain, on the Continent, in the United States of America, Canada and Asia was both mentally absorbing and physically exhausting.

(*) The more detailed account of this important episode appears in Sachchida's *Behar and the Provincial Dykes*, now in the possession of the author's family. In view of the importance of the episode to our constitutional development I have inserted it in this volume.

Letters from him, many of which my wife has managed to preserve despite the million miles or so that we have travelled since then, contain, I see self-consciously, something in the nature of a complaint. He expressed disappointment particularly at my inability to write for the *Hindustan Review* with the devotion that I had showed for it in my American days. In one note that lies upon the table at which I am writing this directly upon the typewriting machine, he seeks to extract from me a promise that I would give him at least one contribution every quarter.

The letters written during this period bring back to me the warmth of his gratitude for any slight service I was able to render him from that distance, "I thank you sincerely," he wrote on February 2, 1912, "for your so kindly sending me the December number of the 'World's Work' containing the very appreciative reference to my humble services."

A little further on he added. "I am grateful to you for the exchanges you secured for me with some of the leading American periodicals" He then asked me to do him "a similar good" while in England. He proceeded immediately to give me a list of publications the editors of which, he had cause to know, were on friendly terms with me. I wrote back to him on March 1, 1912

"There is an essential difference between the American and the English editor. The latter is very conservative and is, in addition, bossed by the manager, whereas the former is far from being a conservative man and, as a rule, is editor and manager combined. Hard as it was for me to secure you American exchanges, I find the task here well nigh impossible. However "

Promptly came a letter from him letting me know that he would not be put off—that from *me* he refused to take a "no," however diplomatically phrased. I did my best for him and had his appreciation. That I valued

XX

In 1914 Sachchidananda came to London. In a letter bearing (so recent a date as) September 29, 1944, he reminded me of that visit. He wrote:

"I recall at this moment with great gratification a dinner that I had with her (my wife) in your cottage in the suburbs of London, in the summer of 1914—just thirty years back, when my wife and I were there. You and I are, I believe, the two oldest couple of friends going in this country."

What memories these words bring back of our merry meetings during that visit of his to the Empire's capital. He chose for his "digs" an apartment facing Hyde Park. The prevailing colour in the sitting room, as I remember it, was "old" (*vieux*) rose—warm to the eye and warming to the heart. The furniture and hangings served as an admirable background for our reunion. The easy chairs were very

comfortable to sit in for a man who occupied a cane-seated swivel-chair the live long day and half the night.

While dining in town we had learnt that he had arrived. Some one had actually seen him in the street. So my wife suggested that I look in at his apartment before we went to Dulwich where we then dwelt in a house modern in every respect and only about forty minutes tram ride from Fleet Street.

Sachchida and I got to his rooms almost simultaneously. He had been dining at "the Hall"—as barristers say. There wine is served with the meal—free. In that pre-war era it was wine that needed no bush.

Not that Sachchida needed any artificial goad to gentility. Four years had elapsed since we had been together at Simla. Across them correspondence had thrown a "suspensheen" bridge. What letter even couched in his bright phraseology could I however contentedly exchange for the sight of the "dancing little devil" that popped every split second into his eyes and set his cheek aglow as he recounted some yarn that had tickled his fancy—that he thought would interest me.

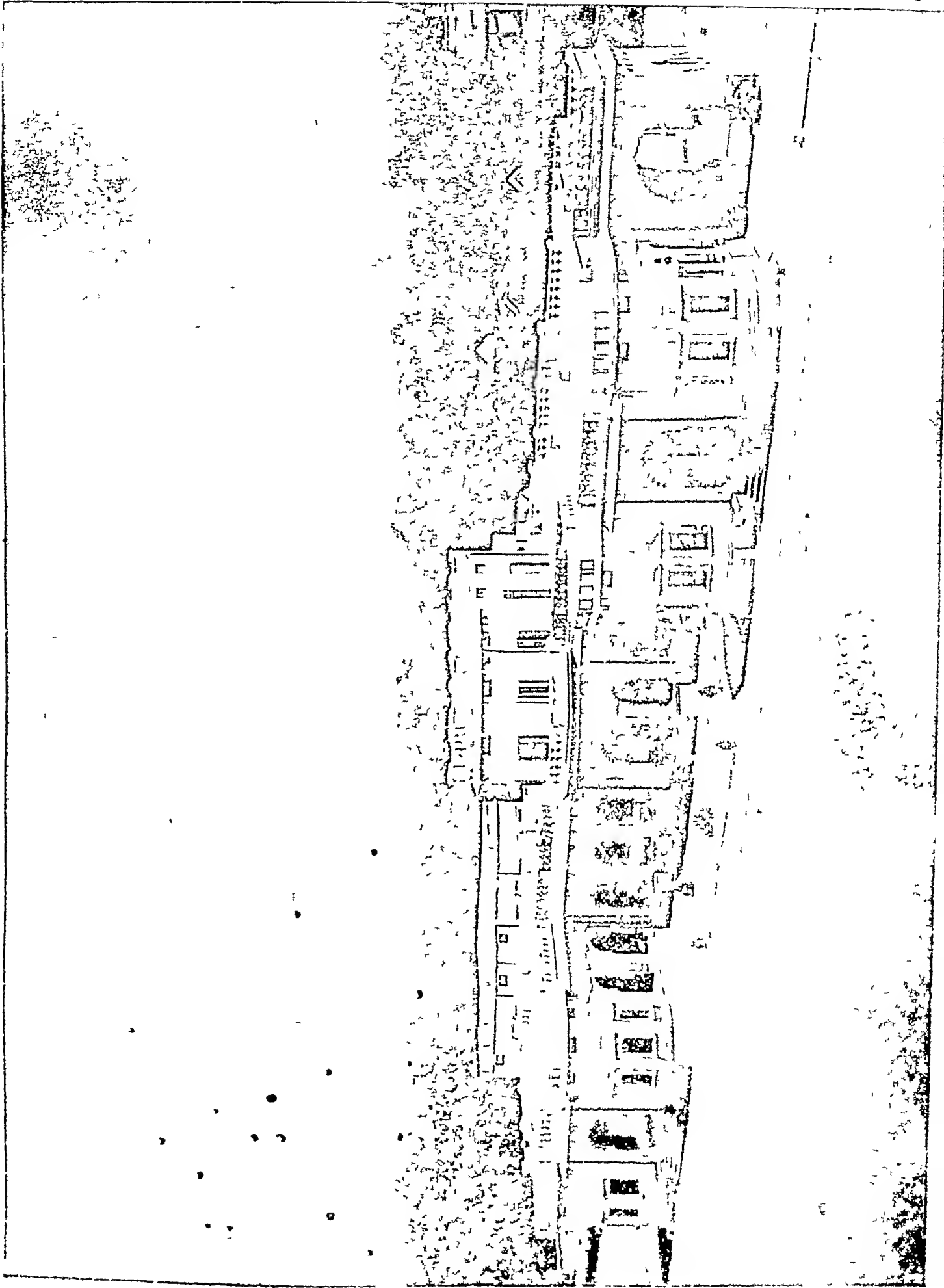
XVI

We still were in the political stage that I describe as "cry baby-cry." At a lusty yell from the infant India, the foster-mother (that Britannia was to us of her own choice) would unbutton her blouse and the austere milk would stream from her breast. Our political belly filled with that gracious liquid we would be equal to the task of running our affairs ourselves as a member of that benign dame's vast and varied household. This belief had been superinduced in us by our British friends, most of them of the Liberal persuasion, and our own leaders brought up among them—Pherozeshah Mehta for one.

Sachchida had come on such a mother-moving mission. With him was Nazhar ul-Haque. Either paid his own expenses.

There were others too. They do not however concern this chronicle. I, with my Fleet Street experience stretching over years and my contact with parliamentarians—contact intimate enough for me to have been writing their questions and giving them "briefs" for their speeches—had not much faith left in these "cry baby-cry" tactics. It was pleasant, however to meet these and other friends from the Motherland.

Writers for the press would fret themselves to death if they did not learn to laugh good-naturedly at human foibles. I watched my friends being soft-soaped by English (many of them really Scottish) well-wishers, without being critical of the soft-soapers or the soft-soaped. Some of the soft-soaping was done in public at parties given in honour of the strangers from far-flung Britain's gate.



Of these there were no end—breakfasts, luncheons, teas and dinners, with fixtures for addresses sometimes thrown in between. Fortunately for me, I did not have to attend any of these in my capacity as a newspaper-man. I was, however, drawn to many of them as the givers were my personal friends and they would not take “No”

A letter from Mazhar that was written from the Hotel Cecil on May 20, 1914 gives an idea of the way they were occupied while in London. It runs, in part

“...I should be delighted to meet you and Mrs. Singh and to renew the acquaintance made at Simla. I also owe you a debt of gratitude for your exceedingly appreciative remarks in the *Westminster Gazette* and for which I should like to thank you personally.

My days are quite full of engagements and I can find no other day but the 29th inst. on which I can come over and have tea with you. Will this suit you? Please let me know.”

I am glad that this letter was saved. It gives me the date when Mazhar was turning his face homewards. In a postscript he wrote: “I am leaving London on the 4th June for the Continent.” Sachchidananda Sinha must have gone back about that time, too. I cannot recollect straight away just when.

XXII

During the war years (1914-18) Sachchida kept an affectionate eye over me from Simla, Delhi, Allahabad, Patna, in fact, from any and every place he happened to be at the moment. “I quite realise,” he wrote towards the end of 1917, “how busy you must be at present with literary work both for the press in England and in this country.” He had found “that more than one Indian paper” published “London Letter” from my pen. “It is marvellous,” he commented, “how you find time to put in so much work.” He did not know that Mrs. Annie Besant, then publishing *New India*, the *Commonweal* and several Theosophical organs, and Kasturiranga Iyengar, the owner-editor of the *Hindu*, had literally conscribed me. Nor did he realise that I had to do some work for my wife’s people in the “good old U. S. A.” There the editors and publishers have been appreciative of my writings for forty years.

I, at the other end, marvelled at the way Sachchida was able to keep up his literary interests as he seemed to be doing. His wife had been ailing for a long time. He had been drawn deeper into politics.

XXIII

Of the tragedy that had occurred in the Punjab in the spring of 1919, Sachchida knew much earlier than I did. Reports, if cabled from Amritsar or Gujranwala where these terrible events had occurred, must have been suppressed.

the authorities had the sense to hold up the newspapers containing accounts of the massacre and bombing from the air we should have remained in the dark for even a longer period. How long however can that kind of gullery go on?

I am not ashamed to admit nearly a quarter of a century later that tears ran down my cheeks as I read the summary of these events in a London newspaper—the *Evening Star* I believe—compiled from papers just received from India. It was a "beat" ("scoop" in Fleet Street jargon). The "exchange editor" had had the sense to see the opportunity and the ability to make the most of it.

Edwin Samuel Montagu was miserable over the martial law excesses as he called them. He was in despair about bringing the culprits to book. He told me in the privacy of his large rooms at the India Office overlooking St. James's Park that no proconsul had ever been punished by Parliament, no matter how that proconsul may have shamed by committing terrible outrages upon people in some outlying portion of the Empire. He called my attention particularly to Jamaica, gave me details of the happenings out there (dreadful, these details) and reminded me that the Governor had escaped scot free.

I felt that he was chary of taking strong action because of the effect he feared such action would have upon his career. He expected the Government of India legislation that he had had on the anvil almost from the moment he came into office to make him immortal.

Montagu had, however, had the foresight and courage to bring Sankaran Nair to the India Office. As silent as he was sturdily built was the knight from Malabar. That dour Scotsman, my friend Jos (later Lord) Wodgwood always called him when we talked at my Herne Hill house or in his Chelsea flat, or in some quiet corner in the Commons lobby. To me Sankaran Nair had taken a fancy. He often talked to me how he had broken with the Governor General (Lord Chelmsford) over the policy his Government had been pursuing towards the authors of these tragedies. He even spoke to me of his ambitions in life. This I took to be a great compliment.

Bhupen Basu, then on the India Council, asked me if I could suggest some Punjab civilian whom Montagu could put on the Commission he was appointing to investigate the affair. The name I gave him made him gasp. "Well, my dear fellow," he remarked, "he is one of the very men into whose conduct the Commission will have to enquire." I felt small even in my own estimation. I was, however, not the only person in Britain who was in the dark as to the details of this terrible affair.

Hardly anything could be done in or from England while that Commission was sitting. The editors with whom I was then associated would say whenever I urged some action that the case was *sub judice*.

The mail brought me, however, the report of a statement that Sachchida had made in the Council at Simla on September 12, 1919, in support of a resolution moved by Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya. Lord Chelmsford, who presided over the meeting, must have smiled wryly when he heard my friend profess his desire to make "a few temperate observations."

Legal-minded though Sachchida always has been, even he could not have felt very "temperate" at that moment. He knew that the Government of India had been putty in the Punjab satrap's hands. This he did say, from the floor of the house, though not in my words. "The Government of India are believed to have been associated too closely with policy pursued in the Punjab by Sir Michael O'Dwyer," he said. Later he changed "associated" into "identified."

A subsequent mail brought me the report of another speech Sachchida had made six days later in the same Council hall. The Home Secretary (Sir William Vincent, once Secretary in the Department presided over by Bhai Sahab Ali Imam) had brought forward a bill to indemnify officials who were implicated in the Punjab tragedy. Alongside him sat John Prestwich Thompson, who, during these happenings, had been O'Dwyer's Chief Secretary.

While at Cambridge, as Thompson himself told me, during his first or second year in the Indian Civil Service, he had taken a keen interest in the activities of the Union, frequently intervened in debates and if I can trust my memory upwards of four decades later, was its President or Vice-President. Believed to be a redoubtable speaker, (I only heard him in his room in the Hotel in which he lived or in my tent in the Prince of Wales's camp), he must have writhed at the diatribes directed against him by the Pandit Malaviya, Sachchida and other Indian members. He tried to heckle my friend : but Sachchida stood his ground.

I particularly liked the passage, reading;

" . there are behind the Front Government Benches the serried ranks and the solid phalanx of our official friends, 35 strong, who sit here for the purpose of supporting the Government in any measure the latter like to bring in, whether it affects the European non-officials or the Indian.

'Theirs not to reason why,

Theirs not to make reply,

• 'Theirs but to vote and die.'

"What is the good in a Council like this for any one of us to try and persuade the Government? Once they have made up their minds that a measure has to be got through this Council, the old shibboleth of responsibility for maintaining law and order being on the Government is trotted out and there are those thirty-five valiant soldiers to vote down any opposition that we may have to offer"

Being perhaps of a more languid disposition I took things seriously. The distance, doubtless, added to the gravity of the situation in India dominated by a few foreigners, though the situation was in all conscience grave enough.

I did all I could to arouse the British to a sense of their responsibility in India. They however were immersed in their own affairs. This self-absorption intensified their trust in "the man on the spot" and "the man on the spot" took the fullest advantage of the position.

In order to keep abreast of the developments I was in close touch with many of the leaders in India, among them Sachchidananda. The cablegrams from London containing an appreciation of the situation and sometimes asking for advice used to be addressed to my dear friend Syad Hasan Imam (Ali Imam's younger brother) but at the end of each I often had inserted "consult Sachchida."

XXIV

About this time Sir Edward MacLagan was going out from Britain, where he had been holidaying to govern the Punjab. The apostles of the white man's burden sought to have him put on the shelf in the belief that he was pro-Indian and, therefore, weak. They wished their dearly beloved Michael O'Dwyer to continue to be the master of all he had been surveying in the province of my birth for five years.

I had first met Sir Edward in Simla in 1910 at the insistence of my old headmaster Lala Sunder Das Suri who had just retired from the educational service and then was in that summer station. He took to me and I to him. He went to great pains to enable me to form a picture of India's agricultural economy and helped me with reports. After I went back to London, we occasionally exchanged letters.

We were glad to meet each other in London. It so happened that at the time of my arrival at the house in Harley Street where he was staying he was reading an article in the *New Statesman*.

It was from the pen of our eminent Indian scholar and thinker—Her Dayal—then living in Scandinavia. He was suspected of being concerned in terroristic plots and was believed to be closely watched by British secret service agents.

I had read the article. The matter as I remember it, was excellent. So was the manner I had always admired Her Dayal's writings and he was partial towards mine.

There was, however, something unusual in his contribution to this mildly socialist weekly. Many members of my circle—and my circle was very large in that era—considered that the author had gone back upon what he had held dear since he, in the flush of manhood, had cast away the Government of India scholarship at Oxford. It was a recantation of faith in substance, they said.

My own view was much more charitable. This, I told them, was simply a case of nostalgia. The Motherland was calling the exile.

I mention this matter here because I was deeply touched by the good word that, some years later, Sachchida and Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru put in to pave the way for Har Dayal's return to India. They had first met him, I believe, in 1903, when they were in Delhi for the Curzon Darbar. Then a student, he, they thought, gave great intellectual promise. This promise was afterwards abundantly fulfilled.

* * * *

I had hoped that Sachchida would come to London when the Joint Select Committee on the Government of India Bill, set up, in 1919, by the two Houses of Parliament, was sitting in Room "A" of the Upper Chamber. He was just the man to give evidence on the measure sponsored by Montagu.

A host of Indian leaders had made their appearance—many of them old friends of mine. I had a hectic time listening to their tales, entertaining them and being entertained by them.

Several of the members of the Parliamentary Committee were personal friends. Some of them looked to me to "brief" them. Just going through the sheaf of papers sent to me, in confidence, making precis and suggesting questions, took up my whole week-end throughout the time the Committee was sitting

XXV

THE *Hindustan Review* that Sachchida always claimed was my "first love in Indian journalism" got shockingly neglected during this period. Beyond a good-natured "dig" or two, however, he let the matter pass. Letters from Allahabad and sometimes from Delhi made me fear that his "first love"—current literature—was being jilted for Demoiselle Democracy. He told me of the speeches he had been making in the Council and outside it and sometimes let me have verbatim reports. These always interested me.

I was happy when he was elected the Deputy President of the Assembly set up at Delhi under the new Act. He richly deserved that honour.

To my regret, however, he had departed from the Imperial Capital for the province of his nativity by the time (February, 1922) I arrived there in his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales's train, as correspondent for a number of British and American papers. This was especially disappointing as engagements in Southern India had prevented me from going with the party to Patna, so I had to content myself with reading a reprint of the address Sachchida presented to the Sovereign's eldest son on 22nd December, 1921. Though I stayed on in the country till June, 1923, I failed to contact him during that tour.

I cannot, therefore, speak from first-hand knowledge, of Sachchida as Behar's Finance Member—the first Indian to hold that portfolio in any province. Only

when during my present visit to India I journeyed to Patna and saw something of the permanent good that some of the administrative measures for which he was responsible had done, could I forgive him for remaining estranged from the *Hindustan Review* for many years (really from 1921 to 1929) The Patna Museum that he created will for one thing remain a great memorial to his official life.

Being within the ring for so many years gave him an insight into the bureaucratic mentality and methods that he otherwise would have lacked. Judging from the minute that has been published, he must have sickened of dyarchy long before dyarchy was discarded. This he wrote on 18th July 1924 in response to an invitation sent by the Central Government to the Provincial Governments asking for their reactions in respect of the Montagu-Chelmsford constitution in actual operation. His statement to the press in 1926 and his speech at the East India Association on 3rd October 1927 were even a more merciless exposure of it.

During the early portion of Sachchida's desertion of the *Review* it was edited by a young Punjabi—Kali Charan Mahindra. His father-in-law—Mr (later Rai Bahadur and now Sir) Jai Lal—was on terms of friendship with me since 1910. He himself used to see me in London whenever he came down from Cambridge. Shortly before sailing for home he had asked my advice as to what to do with himself upon his return to India. I strongly recommended literature. This he promised to take up, but commences in the person of Sir Rajendra Nath Mookerjee enticed him away from the Muse. I was glad when I received from him an intimation that he had at long last taken up journalism as a "side line" and requested me to give him literary support. This I did in, I seem to remember good measure.

XXVI

I had bad luck when Sinha visited Europe. It would have been interesting for me to hear his reactions to the conclave of journalists from all parts of the world that he had attended in Geneva in August, 1927. I had, however, been roving for years over the Continent, Canada, the United States of America, the Far East and the Pacific Islands. In March of that year I went to Ceylon. I refused an arrival at Colombo to take up the editorship of the newspaper which I had accepted. I however was anchored there for three and a half years.

Nor was I in London in 1935 when he revisited the metropolis. During a short stay there he appeared before the Joint Select Committee on the new Government of India Bill. The evidence he gave should have caused the Commissioners furiously to think. I wonder if anything that any Indian said did!

Sachchida and I made up for lost time when, in February 1937, we met under his hospitable roof in Patna. What chats we had by day and 'half way into the night. Even in middle age (would he ever grow old?) he was inclined to be a night hawk.

We had to go over nearly a quarter of a century's happenings. All the hours he could spare from the administration of the Patna University—of which he was the Honorary Vice-Chancellor—the running of the *Hindustan Review* and attending to a certain amount of legal work, and I was not exploring among the relics of the past, in which Behar is so uncommonly rich, we spent exchanging confidences. It was to me a genuine joy that he had weathered so well.

Radhakrishna, Sachchida's (adopted) son, was, at the time, studying for the BSc of the Patna University. I found him of a quiet, affectionate nature and remarkably shrewd for his years. He has since married (I am happy to say) extremely well, has inherited Rai Bahadur Kanhiya Lal's property, and is engaged in directing the destinies of the *Hindustan Review* under his father's indulgent but ever so shrewd eye.

How Sachchida spoiled us during the few days we were with him! He had an uncanny way of finding out what dishes we fancied. These would appear without notice, at the appropriate meal.

One evening, I remember, my wife's eyes nearly popped out of their sockets when John, the faithful Goanese "gentleman" of this gentleman, appeared with a huge silver platter. "*Kachi Biryani!*" my wife exclaimed. "I love it!" Sachchida beamed with joy.

As the first batch of *phulkas* (unleavened bread, the size of an American pancake but slightly thinner) was brought hot from the kitchen, he would take one, fold it into four, close his fist over it, and finding it soft would say "well done".

Never was there a meal when he did not have at the table some one—often several—of his friends, who, he knew, would interest me. Many of them had sought me out in England during their student days. I was delighted to meet them again and to find that they had manfully breasted the storm-tossed stream of life. The talk would flow till, through sheer physical exhaustion, we were compelled to retire to the bedroom in the self-contained suite that he had placed at our disposal.

There was hardly a day when there were no house guests in addition to ourselves. Some of them were old friends of mine. I remember, for instance, that Syed Mahmud came for a day or two. I had first met him in my early Fleet Street days, when he, with Jawahar Lal Nehru, was a student at Cambridge. Mahmud, (long since a Ph. D.) agreed with me that Sachchida's house was one of the two best hotels in Patna—the other being Sultan Ahmad's at the opposite side of the town. Sultan's friendship, too, I continue to enjoy, despite all the vicissitudes through which the motherland has passed since we first met ages ago.

Sachchida's habit of working in the varandah had, I found, clung to him. On our side of the house he sat generally in the morning. On the other side in the after-

noon. In this respect he was a perambulating sun-dial that luminarily regulating his movements. Or was it the other way round?

It was interesting to me to note how his methods of work were similar to mine. He would mark the papers with a red or blue pencil, as I did. An assistant would make the cuttings and file them, as my good lady has done for me during 40 years. He had drawers and drawers full of clippings" as she, in her American way calls them. He had also like me been preserving pamphlets, leaflets, advertising brochures, time tables, catalogues and lists. They he found came in handy for reference. My own collection however contained theatre programmes and even restaurant and hotel menu cards and the like. I must have more than a million of papers of one kind or another.

Near his house was the "Srimati Redhika Sinha Institute and Library". Most of the books reviewed in the pages of the *Hindustan Review* he had given to the Library to serve as the foundation.

Sachchida nevertheless had a fairly large collection of volumes in his house. These were arranged according to a system that he found most convenient. We sometimes sat in the library (though almost every public room in the house was really a library as is the case in our little nest in Dehra Dun) and chatted about writing, editing, publishing, travelling and running the world from an arm chair.

XXVII

Sachchida is, I have found, an editor in the real sense of the term. He is not content merely with obtaining articles from writers of distinction, adding thereto the pick of the ones received without solicitation, sending all that he found usable to the press, glancing casually through the proofs and calling his job of work done.

No! He goes over "copy" with a microscope. If some fact or figure raises a doubt in his mind, he looks it up. If something that strikes him as being vital is missing he supplies it out of his head or makes a note of it and asks the author to do the needful. He does not hesitate to use his blue pencil where it is necessary, not merely to make the article "safe" as regards the Press Act or the law of the libel but also to avoid repetitions and sometimes to prevent mischievous or silly statements from appearing in print.

I have also known him to reconstruct clauses, sentences, paragraphs and even pages. Such work is not done in a high-paid review office in the West. The articles accepted for publication must be above such foibles. That is a cardinal principle and speaking from a long and extensive experience, that principle is rigidly adhered to. Even in newspaper offices in Europe and America any re-writing that may be deemed necessary is left to a sub-editor. Sachchida's concept of his editorial responsibility would not permit him to delegate such a function to his staff.



Dr S Sinha as a Delegate to the Bombay Session of the
Indian National Congress (1904)

As I saw him at work in Patna, a letter I received from him in England rose before my eyes. I had introduced to him a young Indian who had done rather well at one of the English universities. Concerning the article that he sent, Sachchida had informed me. "It is well written, but the figures are out of date and I have therefore revised them where necessary and removed them where they were unnecessary"

XXVIII

SOME weeks or months (I cannot now say for sure how much later) after parting from Sachchida I was sojourning in Bhagalpur. The saloon in which I, through the courtesy of the railway administration, had arrived was on the northern side of the Ganges. To obviate going back and forth across the river, my wife and I were staying in the rest-house meant for railway officers near the Station.

One morning, as I was getting ready to go out to see something of the remains of the capital of the ancient kingdom of Champa, a card was brought to me by the servitor who went with the bungalow. It was sent in by Asu De, a young lawyer who, I found, was a grandson of my old editor and friend—the Mahatma Sisir Kumar Ghosh, one of the founders of the *Amrita Bazar Patrika*. He attended the local courts only for securing the wherewithal to provide for the welfare and happiness of his family and himself. His heart, however, was in writing. "Asude" to call him by his pen name, was clever, particularly at what my wife's people call "patter." Some of it was brilliant. Before we had been talking for any length of time he pulled a typescript out of the portfolio he was carrying. It was, I saw, in the nature of an introduction that Sachchida had dictated to be used with a collection of the contributions Asu had made mostly to the *Amrita Bazar Patrika*. This bit of my friend's composition pleased me so much that I immediately wrote off to him.

By return of post came Sachchida's reply. He appreciated my appreciation of his writing. Asu's father, he informed me, had been his class-fellow in the old, old days when they were at Arrah. There they attended the Zillah school.

I could go on recounting instances of persons—not all young—whom Sachchidananda has put on the path of literary success. C. Y. (later Sir Yashwant) Chintamani was one of his "finds". He had come to Allahabad originally as sub-editor of the *Indian People* (a weekly started by my friend). I have said here enough, however, to serve as an indication of the good Sachchida has done to his fellowmen in helping them over the literary and, I dare say, also the legal, stile.

XXIX

SACHCHIDA is one of the few Indians in public life who has kept his social relationships untainted by political acerbity. Banter and bonhomie have enabled him to get round awkward corners with agility and grace,

An episode rises before my eyes. It relates to the Honble Mr John Whitty at that time the Vice-president of the Governor's Executive Council. Many measures he sponsored had encountered stiff opposition from Sachchida. The *Hansard* contains ample evidence of this fact.

Yet it fell to my friend's lot to felicitate Whitty at a function held on 24th March 1934 by the Constitutional Nationalist Party. Knowing the psychology of our people Sachchida took care to say on that occasion

- " Some of you will be surprised to learn that I, of all persons should be an admirer of a pronounced die-hard like Mr Whitty. Well I shall explain how it is. I have known Mr Whitty now for more than 35 years in different capacities and in different spheres of life. I first met him when he was in camp as a sub-divisional officer in the early years of this century. I went to conduct a case before him and I was very pleased with his decision indeed. For although in my opinion my client deserved to be convicted Mr Whitty acquitted him. (Laughter) I felt satisfied that a magistrate and a member of the Indian Civil Service to boot, who would do that, howsoever poor his knowledge of the law might be possessed a really good heart. (Hear hear)

'Some years later I met Mr Whitty in a wholly different sphere. I was a candidate for election to the Council and he was a voter. Now not only did he not vote for me but told me straight off that he would not vote for me. You may well ask me why did I admire him for that? Because I prefer a straightforward voter who tells me that he would not vote for me. I then wanted to know the reason why he would not vote for me. He said, You want such a monstrous and heinous thing as the separation of the judicial from the executive functions. I shall never vote for a man who wants that. (Loud laughter) I do not know if Mr Whitty still adheres to that view—we have traversed a great deal since—but I suppose he like the honest man he is, while not objecting to Dominion Status for India, does object even now to the separation of judicial from the executive functions. That is my second reason for admiring him. (Renewed laughter)

Thirdly the reason why I admire him is this: That although he and I both are die-hards (each in a different sense) we get on very well in the Council. I have never had any difficulty with him. He is the pink of politeness, a gentleman to his finger tips and represents to me the ideal English gentleman. (Loud applause.) Although we differ from him in politics, we all admire him as the leader of the House without any elected following behind him—his followers being mainly the Governor's

nominees. I am, on the contrary, the Leader of the Opposition in our mock parliament."

He then went on to tell of the treatment that his Majesty the Shah Nasir-ed-din of Persia had prescribed for the Briton who occupied, at the time of his visit to the House of Commons, the post that was Sachchida's in the Behar Council

"Who is that man opposite to the King's Minister?" asked the Shah.

"The 'Leader of the Opposition'," replied the interpreter

"What are his functions?" enquired the Persian King

"This gentleman criticises the Ministers," the interpreter haltingly replied "He points out their mistakes and the defects in the Government measures"

"In Persia," said the Shah, with a finality no one could miss, "that man would be shot down straight away"

Since Mr Whitty had not directed that the Leader of the Opposition in the Behar Council (Sachchida) should be "shot down," Sachchida asked the gentlemen present to charge their glasses and drink to the Hon'ble the Vice-Chairman's "long life, happiness, prosperity and continued useful activities."

No Englishman can beat my friend in that sort of chaff, at which our rulers are supposed to be peerless

XXX

SACHCHIDA'S relations with his non-Hindu countrymen have always been most cordial Mazhar was his crony, as I wrote earlier Ali Imam and Hasan Imam were to him like brothers. I have also mentioned Syed Mahmud as one of his social circle

These Muslims, it is to be noted, are known to us all as strong Nationalists Nationalism has, indeed, been Sachchida's creed In 1932 he made a strong plea for the institution of "joint electorates" in India.

In his view the pernicious system of separate registers was forced upon us. It certainly was not of our devising. It was manufactured partly by Britons in India and partly by Britons who had retired from India—to the India Office. Parliament put upon it the seal of its approval How could Britons, therefore, ethically absolve themselves from the mischief that this system has done to the Indian body politic?

An "award"* made by Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, while he was the Prime Minister of Britain, gave the opportunity to elaborate this point. It had dealt

"... a death blow at the smooth working of responsible and democratic government in this country, and the installation in its place of either communal or

* In my view it was something in the nature of a "reward" to Indians who had been backing away at the nascent Indian Unity and a means to complete "the job".

combined-groups government, the result of which in the long run, is bound to be disastrous in the work of administration. Without being unduly pessimistic, I cannot conceal from myself the apprehension that the system now sanctioned will accentuate the already disruptive factors in the country intensify the working of the centrifugal elements in our public life thwart and ultimately suppress the present, rather weak, centripetal forces and divert the proposed constitution from that of the responsible type into one which will be just the reverse of it, by reason of its evoking an anti-nationalistic spirit in the administration."

He criticised also the form given to the document. To him he said it was —

"amusing in that while providing representation for Muslims Sikhs, Indian Christians Anglo-Indians Europeans (British or Russian, as the case may be) the depressed classes, commerce and industry mining and planting interests, landlords, labour universities and (last but not least) even our women—for all (in fact) except labour by means of separate electorates—the award insists throughout the document upon using the expression general seats meaning thereby those reserved for the Hindu males (and the allied group of Jains and Parsis). As the latter are residents in only one province (Bombay) the term general seats must be taken to mean, for all practical purposes the Hindus. Stripped of this verbiage which limits the Hindus themselves to representation by means of separate electorates and considering the separation of all others, except labour the number of separate electorates—at present but a few—will be substantially increased in future to as many as fourteen and this fragmentation will be unfortunately based not only on racial lines (as between the British and the Indian) but also on religious and economic ones as enumerated above."

Sachchidananda's nationalism has not however stood in the way of his being a good Hindu. As the speeches he delivered at caste conferences and Hindu Sabhe meetings show he is anxious to see Hindus march forward in every sphere of life. If he could have his way he would purge our society of sectional invidiousness that keeps Hindus split up into sections, often one antagonistic (or at least, apathetic) towards the others.

He is keen upon regenerate Hinduism taking up in right earnest the noble and ennobling mission of carrying the message of our ancient culture to the four corners of the world. Talks with him at various times have shown me that he has followed with lively interest the activities of the Hindu missionaries abroad. I doubt if there is any one among us who honours the Swami Vivekananda, as our torch-bearer in the West, as he does.

XXXI

In the way of books we have not had, I feel, as much from Sachchida as we

have a right to expect from a man of his intellect, experience, energy and craftsmanship. What we have had only whets our appetite for more.

His book on Kashmir (*) is an instance in point. It gives us a delightful picture of "Asia's playground", as he calls it

Then we have his speeches (†), collected in book form. To them have been added important papers that he has written, as a Member of the Behar Government, and the like.

This collection is to my way of thinking, far from complete. Even the arrangement of the papers leaves much to be desired. It would be all the better for careful editing. He is doubtless too busy editing other men's writings to have any time to edit his own. My experience tells me, moreover, that often when it comes to editing his own "stuff" an editor requires the assistance of another editor.

Just lately he has added to these another volume (‡) In it he has gathered the sketches he has written about eminent Beharis. With most of these life-stories I have been familiar since they first appeared in print. They were well worth putting together.

I miss from these sketches, however, the name of a friend of mine and also of Sinha's—Tilakdhar Lal Had he been a little less genial, more would have been heard of him in his life and even after his death in 1928 Even as it was, he, through his contacts in London, did much to further the Motherland's cause During the dark days following the disclosures concerning the martial law excesses in the Punjab, he was to me a great tower of strength We often talked of Sachchidananda when he visited us at our modest abode in Herne Hill or we went to his palatial home in Hampstead

The introduction that Sachchida contributed to this work is, in itself, valuable It gives an authentic account of the movement that led to the organization of a portion of Bengal as a separate province and is an important addition to our political literature

XXXII

It is not without significance that the best of Sachchida's energies have gone, during recent years, into the educational effort. Now, however, that, after running the Patna University for four terms, he has retired, I fervently hope that his

(*) Kashmir "The Playground of Asia," By Sachchidananda Sinha (Second Edition Revised and Enlarged) Ram Narain Lal, Publisher, Allahabad, Rs 5.

(†) *Speeches and Writings of Sachchidananda Sinha*, with a Foreword by C. Y. Chintamani and a Personal Note by Rajendra Prasad Ram Narain Lal, Allahabad, Rs 5.

(‡) *Some Eminent Behar Contemporaries*, by Lt Col. Dr Sachchidananda Sinha, M L A Barrister-at-Law, Vice-Chancellor, Patna University, Editor, 'The Hindustan Review Himalaya Publications, Patna, 1944.

enthusiasm abounding even to his seventy sixth will flow into journalistic and literary channels with fuller force than hitherto


I look forward to the *Hindustan Review* greatly benefiting from his concentrated personal attention to it. I also await the publication of volumes containing writings selected from that *Review*. Some of his writings have gained in interest with the passage of time. Of that I am sure.

I should like nothing better than that he should make a business of dictating his recollections. He was born at a period when the old order was passing. He saw the ushering in of the political movement that has roused our people throughout the country. He witnessed the rise of revolt against age-old customs that kept our society moribund. He has in fact furthered that revolt in his own way by marrying outside the narrow circle within which he should really have found his bride. The economic life of the people has within his sight, passed through a revolution that, in time is destined to change the face of the land. He has been on terms of intimacy with men who have moved mountains of prejudice from our country. What he has to tell will be of no small interest and inspiration. He is the best person to tell of time. He will do so I devoutly hope, and that ere long.

May his years be many—years blessed with health, energy and joy !


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Messages


R Sachchidananda Sinha has received such generous tributes from former Governors of Bihar, who knew him better than I can claim to do, that I feel some diffidence in adding to them. But I have known him by repute for many years as an indefatigable journalist and publicist. His book on "Some Eminent Bihar Contemporaries" was sent to me as soon as my appointment as Governor of Bihar was announced, and I read it with avidity, much regretting to find that these famous men had all passed on, and hoping that I should find them to have left worthy inheritors of their glory.

The public speeches of Dr. Sinha that have been made during the last few months show that he has lost little, if any, of his old suppleness and industry and he might well have been selected for the honourable position of Interim President of the Constituent Assembly on other grounds than those of advancing years.* It is in the fitness of things that one who has painted for us such a revealing gallery of his contemporaries should now be presented with his own private gallery, in which a man of whom Bihar is most proud will be delineated from many friendly angles and in many different, but kindly, lights.

HUGH DOW
Governor of Bihar

 R. Sachchidananda Sinha is one of those few very great men of our province whose names will go down to posterity as the maker of modern Bihar. His devotion to learning, his life of public service extending over almost half a century, and his affable manners have made him loved by all. Verily he is the Grand Old Man of Bihar. I wish him a long life so that the province may have the benefit of his advice and guidance in the difficult years that lie ahead of us.

SRI KRISHNA SINHA
(Prime Minister Bihar)

 AM glad of this opportunity to pay my respectful tribute to Dr Sachchidananda Sinha who has, for half a century or more, occupied a very prominent place in the public life of the province. Dr Sinha has long ceased to be an individual and has been an institution for decades. In shaping the fate of the province, his master hand has been in evidence almost in every sphere of activity. He has served as a beacon light to generations of young men of the province and his name and fame has always been an asset for Bihar.

ANUGRAH NARAYAN SINHA
(Finance Member Bihar)

CONSIDER it a great privilege to have this opportunity of paying my humble tribute to our great countryman, Dr. Sachchidananda Sinha, who for a generation has profoundly influenced the political, cultural, social and educational life of our country. His versatile talents have found full expression in the sphere of journalism, education, law and politics alike and he occupies a unique position among the public men of India. He is held in the highest esteem and respect even by those whose political affiliations differ from his. As the Finance Member of the Bihar and Orissa Executive Council, as the President of the Provincial Legislative Council, as Vice-Chancellor of the Patna University for the longest term, as the Editor of the Hindustan Review, whatever position he has held in life, he has shed lustre on it. As an elder statesman of the front rank, his wise counsels carry great weight with all sections of our people. It was, therefore in the fitness of things that none but he was called upon by the nation to inaugurate the epoch-making session of the Indian Constituent Assembly, which for the first time in our national history was formed to draw up our national constitution.

In his private life he is the most lovable of all men. To know him is to love and respect him, and admire the sterling qualities of his head and heart. His sparkling wit, his smart repartees and retorts, and above all his neverfailing fund of humour have enlivened his social circle, and have been the unfailing source of delight to his friends and admirers. His princely hospitality has been a byword in India, and there is hardly any person of eminence in politics, education, literature, science and arts, who has not found a ready and warm welcome under his hospitable roof, and at his table. Such is the man, who in his life epitomises the best culture and traditions of the East and West, in whose honour this Commemoration Volume is being published.

May he live long in the fullest enjoyment of health and vigour and may he live to be a citizen of Free and Independent India which has been his lifelong dream and endeavour.

SYED MAHMUD
(Minister of Development, Bihar.)

❧ CONSIDER it a great privilege for me to be allowed to associate myself with the Committee organised to bring out a Commemoration Volume in honour of Dr Sachchidananda Sinha. For now fifty years or more he has been in the forefront of the public life in this province and country and has contributed as few else have done to the making of what may be described as modern Bihar. He has filled various distinguished roles and he has shed lustre wherever he has been. Alike as a politician, a publicist and above all an educationist his services deserve to be remembered with pride and gratitude by generations to come. I take this opportunity of laying at his feet my humble offerings of love and respect. May he live long to help and guide us !

BADRI NATH VARMA

(Minister of Education, and
Information, Bihar)

I AM grateful to the Editors of this volume for giving me this opportunity to express, in a permanent form, my appreciation, both as Chancellor of the University, and as a Governor, of the services which Dr. Sinha has rendered both to the University, and to the Province, during a long and active life. In his experience of affairs as Deputy President of the Indian Legislative Assembly, President of the Provincial Legislative Council, and Finance Member of the Bihar and Orissa Executive Council, and also in the field of journalism, law and education, he occupies a unique position among the public men of this Province. He has held the important position of Vice-Chancellor for no less than eight years, and his services in that capacity are well known. I need only say that his sense of public duty was exemplified in his acceptance of his present extended term, at my special request, when he was fully entitled, even in these exacting days, to the leisure of retirement. Now that he is finally demitting office he takes with him the good wishes of us all.

T. G. RUTHERFORD
Governor of Bihar

DR Sachchidananda Sinha is a very old friend of mine who has a long record of valuable public service. Of this service none has been more valuable than the nine years during which he has held the post of Vice-Chancellor of the Patna University. From this post he is retiring in December next, and it is very appropriate that this occasion should be marked by the presentation to him of a volume of *Essays and Addresses* by his numerous friends and admirers. That volume will form a fitting tribute to his long and distinguished career. I am glad to have this opportunity of expressing my appreciation of Dr Sinha's work for Bihar and for India.

MAURICE HALLET
Governor United Provinces

I HAVE been privileged to know Dr. Sachchidananda Sinha for a few years only, and there are many others (as this volume will testify) better qualified than I am to do justice to his many-sided activities and achievements. But these few years of our acquaintance and, I hope I may say, our friendship, have enabled me to understand the unique position which Dr Sinha has come to occupy in Bihar, and the great esteem and respect in which he is held not only in his own Province but far beyond it also. It is, therefore, in the fitness of things that his many admirers should have delighted to honour Dr. Sinha by presenting to him this volume, and I am grateful for the opportunity which has been given to me of associating myself with their tribute.

T. A STEWART
Ex-Governor of Bihar

It is equally my pleasure privilege and sisterly duty to send affectionate greetings to my old friend Sachchidananda Sinha. Ours has been a long steadfast and I may add inherited or rather transmitted friendship for in their far-off student days in Edinburgh my husband and he were comrades and brothers.

Sachchidananda Sinha is a man of wide interests and versatile talents and his have been notable attainments in many fields in law and letters journalism education social reform and public activities of various kinds. But not less admirable and valuable to our generation than his intellectual attainments are his unique social qualities. I know few men with his happy gift for attracting the cordial and enduring regard of the most diverse types of men and women. A splendid host, he has always been able to gather under his hospitable roof of all races ranks religions in harmonious intercourse irrespective of the most startling and bitter divergencies of personal and political views on vital problems. His ironic wit and humour have been the delight of his large circle of associates and admirers. He is a man of deep affections and generous loyalties and has rendered to his country and countrymen signal services which have earned well merited gratitude. My greetings to Sachchidananda Sinha on the rich harvesting of his seventy four years.

SAROJINI NAIDU
Hyderabad Deccan.

I HAVE known Dr. Sinha personally only for a few years, but I remember sending in 1908 an article to him for publication in the HINDUSTAN REVIEW, a Review which he is still editing with remarkable zeal and persistence. Among our older statesmen he is one of the outstanding. He has been connected with all progressive movements . social, cultural, political, of Behar, and of India. He is the Vice-Chancellor of the University today, and was for sometime Member of the Executive Council and President of the Behar Legislative Assembly. Though a liberal in politics, he does not frown on members of other persuasions. He has the liberality of outlook which few liberals possess. Every side of public life of Behar has been helped by him, and for his help been raised to a higher level. Meetings of all political parties take place under his roof and leaders of politics, and education, find in him a princely host. There are few among our leaders today whose interests are so varied, and whose studies are so up-to-date. The library which he has endowed, in the name of his wife, furnishes ample evidence of his fine taste and discrimination.

May he live long to adorn our public life.

S RADHAKRISHNAN

I AM very glad that it has been decided to commemorate the work of Dr Sachchidananda Sinha as Vice-Chancellor of the Patna University and his educational and other services. As a politician journalist statesman and educationist, he has excelled in many spheres and those who are acquainted with him cannot but realise how his heart beats in sympathy with all human needs and sufferings. I wish the publication all success.

C. P. RAMASWAMI AYER

I AM very happy to pay my humble tribute of regard and admiration for the invaluable services rendered by Dr Sachchidananda Sinha to the province of Bihar. He took up the Vice-Chancellorship of the Patna University at an advanced age and has been mainly responsible for the very great expansion of education in Bihar which has taken place during his tenure of office.

I wish him a long and happy life in his retirement.

A. R. DALAL

I HAVE learnt with much interest that my esteemed and distinguished friend, Dr. Sachchidananda Sinha, will be the recipient of a Commemoration Volume of essays, on the occasion of his retirement as Vice-Chancellor of the Patna University, which he has served with such zeal and distinction. It is a very real pleasure to me to associate myself with this effort to honour Dr. Sinha.

There are not many public men in our country who can look back upon their career with the same feeling of satisfaction as Dr. Sinha is entitled to do. Dr. Sinha has laboured hard and for many years for the good of his own Province of Bihar and India in general. His varied record of public service as a journalist, a legislator, a parliamentarian, and administrator and, latterly, as an educationist, is one of which any Indian may well be proud.

I had the great pleasure and privilege of having Dr. Sinha as my guest, earlier at Mysore, and more recently at Jaipur and on both these occasions I had the opportunity to know him intimately and to value those great qualities of his which have enabled him to make a name in our public life.

MIRZA ISMAIL

I HAVE known Dr Sinha for many years. His has been a life of sweat and toil. I first knew him as the Editor of the Hindustan Review. Since then, I have come to know him more intimately. The more I know him the more I like him. In politics he is a great stalwart of liberal ideas, afraid of none, neither the Government nor the people, and always bold and free to speak out the truth as it strikes him. He was born to wield influence in whatever department of life he chose to work, and whether as a lawyer, politician or literary man, this feature of his life has come out forcibly. Last year when I stayed with him for a few days, on the occasion of my visit to Patna to deliver the University Convocation Address, I could see how popular he was and how silently he could influence a number of important movements in his province. The way in which he conducted himself in the presence of European officials of the highest rank was surprising. His independence, dignity, urbanity and courtesy appeared admirable in these days when many Indian leaders verged on one extreme or another. He was trusted by all who knew him. The feature which struck me most was that the public revered him, although they knew that he was a merciless critic of popular foibles and pretences. I do hope that he will be spared to the Province for long time yet, and now that he will be free from the trammels of the Vice-Chancellor's office, I trust that he will be able to devote more time to pursue his permanent interests in literature, which during recent times have been comparatively starved owing to his other preoccupations.

M. R. JAYAKAR

I AM delighted to know that a Committee has been formed to publish a Commemoration Volume in honour of Dr. Sachchidananda Sinha who laid down in December the office of Vice-Chancellor of the Patna University which he held with great distinction during the last 9 years. I have known him only through the typescript of a remarkable book he has written on the poet-philosopher Iqbal and the letters he and I exchanged about it. I have not as yet had the good fortune to meet and shake hands with him. I am sorry, therefore, that I am unable to write to you, anything more than what I learnt of him from the draft of a single book and a few letters. His encyclopaedic knowledge, cosmopolitan sympathies and world-wide interests simply astounded me. That is all.

AMJIN JUNG BAHADUR


I AM very glad to learn that friends and admirers of Dr Sachchidananda Sinha are proposing to present to him a commemoration volume on his retirement from the exalted office of Vice-Chancellor of the Patna University

I have had the privilege of knowing Dr Sinha for the last 40 years. Since 1904 when I met him for the first time at the house of the late Lala Lajpat Rai at Lahore have always cherished the highest esteem and regard for him. Though he has spent most of his life outside the Punjab, he has had close connection with this Province and counts a large number of Punjabis among his friends. His frankness of manner and suavity of temperament and almost affectionate regard for those who come in contact with him have won for him deserved popularity with all classes of people. He has been a stalwart congressman of the olden type and has always been looked upon as a politician of sound views. His services to the cause of education, journalism and literature, no less than to the cause of law and justice will be long remembered by his countrymen. I wish him health and happiness and trust that he will long enjoy his well-earned rest after his retirement from a distinguished career.

G. C. NARANG

I HAVE known Dr. Sachchidananda Sinha for nearly thirty years. He also knew my father, Raja Sir Harnam Singh, and from time to time used to come to our house in Simla. When I first met him, he was a prominent member of the Imperial Legislative Council and as such was always liberal and progressive in his views. He was and is a well read and widely informed man. Together with these qualities, he had and still possesses the saving grace of humour. His has been a household name both in Bihar and the United Provinces, which are his second home, for a generation. Dr. Sinha has solved the problem of advancing years by retaining perpetual youth. His outward appearance has changed less during the last thirty years than almost any other person whom I know. A Finance Member in the Bihar Executive Council he showed a mastery of facts and figures as well as independence of thought. His many friends, among whom I have the honour to count myself, will congratulate him on the completion of his term of office as the Vice-Chancellor of the Patna University and will wish him many more years of service to his country.

MAHARAJ SINGH


 DEEM it a privilege to associate myself with this Commemoration Volume and to have an opportunity of paying my tribute of deep regard for Dr Sinha's lovable personality. It is not for me to speak of his abounding patriotism and public spirit, his facile pen, his great qualities as a journalist, a man of letters and a politician, or of his unique position as one of the makers of modern Bihar. These, as well as his distinguished career in many spheres of activity, are too well known to call for repetition. I wish to add my personal testimony in regard to one or two aspects of his character which have drawn me closer to him. They almost appear to be antinomies, but they wonderfully harmonize to make up his individuality. He is rightly known to be an uncompromising Biharee, but in actual life he is truly cosmopolitan—his friendships rise high over all barriers of caste, creed, race, provincialism or nationality. In politics he is an uncompromising Liberal, but his house is the rendezvous for all shades of political opinion, and there is hardly anyone in Bihar who does not, in an hour of crisis, resort to him for guidance and good counsel. Among his followers and admirers he is a veritable autocrat—unsparing and exacting. But while exacting work from them, he never fails to enjoy their increasing love and admiration. Such is Dr Sachchidananda Sinha as I know him. Long may he live as the centre of influence in Bihar which he undoubtedly is.


P K SEN

FEW men in India could claim such a long and honourable record of public life as Dr. Sachchidananda Sinha. Not to speak of his professional success, he has distinguished himself as a journalist and publicist of a high order. As a member of the Imperial Legislative Council, as the first elected Deputy President of the Central Legislature and as the President of the Bihar Legislative Council, he has made a name for himself as one who has always kept in view high parliamentary traditions in the discharge of his duties.


It was quite an agreeable surprise to his many friends that he was given the charge of the Finance Portfolio when he acted as member of the Executive Council of Bihar. As an active Vice-Chancellor of the Patna University he has rendered no mean service to the cause of education. His life has been one of varied activities and his public service has been quite noteworthy. I am glad of the opportunity given to me to join his numerous friends and admirers in different parts of the country to felicitating him on the completion of his long term of office as Vice-Chancellor of the Patna University.

I wish my distinguished and valued friend, Dr. Sachchidananda Sinha many more years of active service to the motherland.


G. A. NATESAN.


 CONSIDER it a privilege to contribute to the tributes being paid to the services of Dr Sachchidananda Sinha spread over a period of well nigh half a century. There is no sphere of public activity—law, journalism, legislation, politics, administration, social services, literature, education—in which Dr Sinha has not made his mark. An earnest patron of learning, scholars seldom sought his help and advice in vain. May he live long, hale and hearty and continue to give us the benefit of his rich experience.

K. SRINIVASAN


 AM glad that a Commemoration Volume for Dr Sachchidananda Sinha is being prepared. I have known him long, enough to say he amply deserves this. He has my best wishes for his long life and service to his countrymen; he may be enabled to do during that period.

M. V. JOSHI

 AM very glad to have an opportunity for sending a few lines for the Memorial volume which it is proposed to bring out on Dr Sinha's retirement from the Vice-Chancellorship of the Patna University. Dr Sinha has played an active and constructive role in the making and development of this University ever since its formation. He has now retired from the office of the Vice-Chancellor after the University has celebrated its Silver Jubilee and can look forward to a career of even greater usefulness and accelerated development. For the tasks ahead the University will have to be re-organized and new forces brought into play in order that Bihar may contribute greatly to the making of a free and progressive India. Fortunately for us Dr Sinha in spite of his years is in very good health and we will have the invaluable benefit of *having his ripe experience and sage advice available* for the educational reconstruction that all of us have to plan and work for. I like every one who realizes how much we shall need Dr Sinha's guidance in the immediate future earnestly hope and wish that he may be in our midst for many years and see the further development of the University in particular and the growth and progress of the Province in general—i. e. the fulfilment of his hopes and efforts in a very large measure.

GYANCHAND

*Appreciations
&
Life Sketches*



Dr. B. Sinha as Finance Member Bihar and Orissa Government (1921-26)

DR. SACHCHIDANANDA SINHA

By

THE RT HON'BLE SIR TEJ BAHADUR SAPRU

WISH I had the time at my disposal to write fully about Dr. Sinha, for I have known him at very close quarters during the last forty-seven years of my life. I must, however, having regard to the pressure on my time, content myself with a very short note.

Among my friends there is only one other gentleman left whom I have known for a few years longer, but during the forty-seven years that I have known Dr. Sinha my affection and respect for him has grown year after year. I do not recollect a single occasion when, either in the private sphere of life or in the public sphere, there was even the slightest estrangement between him and me.

When, in 1898, I came to Allahabad to settle down here in practice, I heard a great deal about him from people who knew him. I was an obscure young man and felt considerable hesitation in encroaching on his time, but when I did see him in November, 1898, it did not take me long to realise that he was a congenial soul. He received me most affably—and indeed cordially—and within a short time of this acquaintance we began to appreciate each other. As time went on, within a few months my relations with him were cemented by bonds that have stood the strain of time. They are as firm today as they were at any time before.

Dr. Sinha never received any education at any University in England, or for the matter of that in India, and yet I doubt whether there are half a dozen men in India, who can claim to possess that broad-based and varied culture, which has been the outstanding feature of his life. He is an exceptionally well read man. He has thought very deeply over social, intellectual, educational and political problems, and it is always a treat and a pleasure to discuss such issues with him. When you are talking to him you always realise that you are talking to a man who can shed some light upon the issue you are discussing with him. Of him it may truly be said that he wears all the weight of the learning, that he possesses, lightly like a flower. As a companion he is the most agreeable person that you can come across in life. He is never dull, never morose, and he is always brimming with sparkling wit and humour. The fund of his anecdotes is inexhaustible.

I do not know whether there is a single man in the country, who could write the history of the last fifty years of our public life with more direct knowledge

than Dr Sinha. He knew every one of the leaders of the earlier generation at first hand, and I wish some body could persuade him to write his memoirs.

As a lawyer he achieved signal success at Patna but he never excluded other interests from his attention or claim upon his time. In public life at one time he adorned the Legislative Assembly and the old Legislative Council and his speeches were listened to with great respect and attention. The one distinguishing feature of his speeches in those days was lucidity and the other the impartial view of the issues that were presented for discussion. In the first Legislative Assembly he sat on the non-official benches and I on the official and for a good portion of the time he stayed with me. I shall never forget the time when we were thrown together so closely.

To the service of Bihar he has devoted his great talents and practically all his life. He achieved distinction as Finance Member of the Bihar and Orissa Government but I personally think that in no walk of life has he shone to greater advantage than in the educational field. For no less than four terms he had been the Vice-Chancellor of the Patna University and if the Patna University has acquired today a distinct position among the Universities of India it is no small measure due to his stewardship of that University.

There is only one thing more that I should like to say about him and that is his genius for friendship and hospitality. Dr Sinha is over 73 now but he has the outlook energy and vigour of a young man of 37. May he live still longer to the joy of his friends and to the benefit of his country is the heart felt wish of a devoted and old friend.

DR. SACHCHIDANANDA SINHA : A PERSONAL NOTE

By

DR RAJENDRA PRASAD

DR. Sachchidananda Sinha has had a most distinguished and a varied public career. He started life as a social reformer when, as the first Beharee Hindu of his generation, he took courage and crossed the seas in 1889 as a youth of eighteen and went to England for study. On his return after being called to the Bar, in 1893, he had to face serious opposition from his community, but remained firm. He took another advanced step in the direction of social reform when he married, in 1894, a lady of a distinguished family at Lahore, but belonging to a different sub-section of the Kayastha community. At the time, both these steps were considered revolutionary, but the community, as a body, has since then accepted both these reforms as necessary and formally sanctioned them. To-day, crossing the seas appears to be such an ordinary thing that we are apt to think as if it had always been the same. Those who can recollect the great agitation which followed the re-admission of Hindus on their return from Europe, in the first decade of this century, will remember what a tough fight the reformers had to put up. Marriage between the members of different sub-sections of Kayasthas has not yet become so common, but it is no longer tabooed amongst them. To Dr. Sachchidananda Sinha belongs the credit of being a pioneer, in his own person, in respect of both these important items of social reform.

It is not, however, as a social reformer only that Dr. Sinha is known in the country. He is perhaps the sole surviving member of that noble band of Beharees who, since the nineties of the last century, had been so prominently associated with the public life of Upper India, and particularly of Behar. Dr. Sinha was the principal worker among those who started the movement for the creation of a separate province of Behar. It was much misunderstood at the time, and was looked upon as a movement for securing the loaves and fishes of office for the Beharees. But those who entered into the spirit of it knew, and the events that have happened since have shown, that it was necessary for the self-expression of Behar. The idea underlying the creation of Bihar as province, was accepted by the Congress itself when it divided the country into provinces on the basis of linguistic differences. It is now being gradually given effect to by the Government also. Behar (with Orissa) was created as a separate province in

1912, and Onssa and Sind were similarly constituted separate administrative units in 1936. Other such provinces are yet to come.

Dr Sachchidananda Sinha was prominently associated with the Congress for a long time, and was Secretary of the Session held at Patna in 1912 and was later for many years the President of the Behar Congress Committee. He parted company with it only when the Congress embarked in 1920 on a programme of non-co-operation and civil disobedience. But he has never ceased to associate cordially with Congressmen and his house and hospitality have been always available to them. His benefactions in the shape of his splendid gift of a great public Library and a Town Hall at Patna are only a public expression of that essentially generous nature which has never cared to earn and amass for himself and has always felt pleasure in giving to others not only good and dainty dishes, but also the far more valuable gift of his time and energy and of his great talents and abilities. Dr Sinha has been a distinguished advocate at the Bar, but it is well known that his heart and mind have been set far more on a study of public questions and affairs than on learned treatises on legal lore, or authoritative rulings by distinguished judges. A keen and devoted student of the Victorian literature he possesses despite his professions to the contrary a deep and abiding interest in Hindi and Urdu literatures and one has only to step into his bedroom to see a collection of the works of masters nicely bound and tastefully set, in an open book-case near his bed.

In recognition of his varied public services the University of Allahabad conferred on Mr Sinha, in 1937 the degree of Doctor of Literature *honoris causa*. Since 1936 till 1944 he had been the Vice-Chancellor of the Patna University, his appointment having been renewed three times after the completion of the first term. In that capacity he rendered invaluable service to higher education in the province. Not only his term synchronised with the establishment of several new colleges at various places, but the University turned a new leaf by establishing research scholarships. May I express the hope that Dr Sinha will be spared to see at least the beginnings, if not the full fruition, of a true University which does not confine its activities to examining students but also participates in teaching, and, above all acts as a centre and nucleus of research work and for advancement of knowledge.


It is journalism, however, which has been Dr Sinha's great love. He has been conducting, as its founder-editor a high-class monthly, since July 1900 (first under the name of the Kayastha Samachar, and then as the Hindustan Review

since 1903) with the exception of the period of five years when he was a member of the Executive Council of the Governor of Bihar and Orissa. He has been a member of the Imperial Legislative Council, the Legislative Assembly, and Provincial Council for several terms, and has held the high office of the first elected Deputy President of the Assembly, and of the President of the Behar Legislative Council. He has presided at the Behar Provincial Conference, the Agra and Oudh Provincial Conference, and the All India Kayastha Conference. He has appeared as a witness before various Committees and Commissions. In all these capacities he has had opportunities of writing and speaking on varied subjects of public importance. Of these, I may specially refer to his evidence, in support of the claims of nationalist India, given (in 1933) before a sitting of the Joint Parliamentary Committee, in London, in the course of which he substantiated his statements in cross-examination with such knowledge, skill and resourcefulness as to have extorted the admiration of his critics and opponents. His writings and speeches are always enriched by a wealth of quotations from authoritative persons and sources. In his speeches, uttered under varying conditions, one would notice (in his statement as, say, the Finance Member of the Government of Bihar and Orissa) the restraint and the limitation which such an office imposes in the present conditions of our country but in his presidential and other addresses we see the genuine nationalist speaking out his mind. Again, in his minutes recorded by him even as a Member of Government we find the advanced nationalist putting forward, with conviction and emphasis, the demands of India. Dr. Sinha also commands a fund of humour, —some fine specimens of which the reader will find in the collection of his speeches and writings. In the Hindustan Review, one of the most attractive features is the editorial survey of the events and happenings of the month, and there are not a few who read that periodical more for that than for the excellent articles it contains from the pen of the eminent contributors. We may not agree with all the views held and expressed by Dr. Sinha, from time to time, on all public questions, but we can all profit by a study, of the opinions of one who has devoted his life-time to their study, and stated them in a style at once trenchant and attractive. .

DR SACHCHIDANANDA SINHA AN APPRECIATION

By

THE HONBLE SIR SYED FAZL ALI

 R. Sinha needs no introduction to us and therefore, I shall not attempt to give a detailed account of his life, but will merely refer to some of the outstanding facts relating to his distinguished career. In 1937 Dr Sinha delivered a discourse on law and literature at a local club and in that discourse he quoted an observation of Lord Macmillan, a distinguished member of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council as to the value of literature to those who follow the profession of law. The observation quoted by him was in these words: "For the preservation of our position as a learned profession and for the promotion and efficiency in the art we practise it is essential that the lawyer should be steeped in literature and keep his mind constantly refreshed and renewed by contact with thinkers of the past. So only can he attain to eminence."

Dr Sinha is one of the few lawyers of our time who can be said to be steeped in literature in the true sense of the expression and this is not only apparent from his speeches and writings but is also demonstrated by the fact that almost every one of the many thousands of volumes of his enormous library bears his familiar pencil marks showing what an omnivorous reader he is. It is no wonder that in recognition of his great literary talents the University of Allahabad decided to confer and did confer on him in 1937, the degree of Doctor of Literature *honoris causa*.

Dr Sinha has not only attained eminence at the Bar but is also a great journalist and has for nearly two generations played a prominent part in the public life of this country. He has been conducting a high class journal called the 'Hindustan Review' since 1900 and was invited to represent the Press of India at the first International Press Conference held in Geneva in October 1927, and organised by the League of Nations. As to his public activities they are too many to be detailed here but it may be mentioned that he was a member of the Imperial Legislative Council, the Legislative Assembly and the Provincial Council for several terms and was the first elected Deputy President of the Assembly and President of the Bihar Legislative Council. He was also for a period of five years a member of the Executive Council of the Governor of Bihar and Orissa.

In 1936 Dr. Sinha was appointed Vice-Chancellor of the Patna University and his appointment was renewed thrice since the completion of his first term. Looking at the record of this University one cannot fail to notice that during the period of his Vice-Chancellorship, there has been a marked advance in higher education in Bihar. The number of students in the different colleges has considerably increased and as many as seven new colleges have sprung up during the last three or four years of which three have since been raised to the degree standard and a fourth will probably be raised to that standard in the near future. Among these institutions there is also a Women's College, teaching up to the degree standard.

A very notable event associated with Dr. Sinha's term as Vice-Chancellor was the inauguration of a new scheme of research scholarships and fellowships under which as many as 15 research scholarships of the value of Rs. 100 each, and 3 Fellowships of the value of Rs 150 each, per month, are now available in the different faculties of the University. Another notable step taken by the University during this period was the creation of a new faculty of Commerce. This subject, which was not taught in any college before, is being taught in five colleges now, which augurs well for the future, because with the rapid growth of industries during the war period as also to meet the needs of the post-war industries, the demand for commerce graduates has been growing rapidly and this demand can now be met to some extent from amongst those who take their degrees in these colleges.


There are two other schemes for which also credit must go in a large measure to Dr. Sinha—these being, firstly, a scheme for the institution of a course of technological study and, secondly, a scheme for the development of Hindi and Urdu literature by encouraging original work in them as well as the work of translation from foreign languages into these two languages.

Dr Sinha is undoubtedly one of the greatest and most cultured men Bihar has produced, and is also one of the most distinguished Vice-Chancellors who have guided the affairs of the Patna University for which the University as also the Province of Bihar are under a deep obligation to him.

TRIBUTES TO DR SACHCHIDANANDA SINHA*

By

SIR FRANCIS MUDIE

 R. Sinha whom we propose to honour has been Vice Chancellor of the Patna University for the long term of more than 8 years and he has rendered eminent services not only to this University in that capacity but also to this province in an astonishing number of other ways. Dr Sinha's record of public service as a lawyer writer politician administrator and finally as educationist over a period of 50 years must be almost unique. He has touched nothing that he has not adorned. Not only is education his latest public activity but it is, in a sense a culmination of his work in other fields.

A University covers a wider field even than the law which has been Dr Sinha's vocation, and there is nothing which relates to human nature and human activity which is not of value to a Vice-Chancellor. He must at the same time be learned and practical. He must appreciate the outlook of the true scholar who pursues learning for learning's sake and at the same time give full weight to the practical advantages of education. He must attend to the minute details of administration without losing the vision necessary to inspire youth. Above all, a Vice Chancellor must be human and must appreciate life and combine the wisdom which is to be gained only by experience with a readiness to develop new ideas.

In Dr Sinha all these somewhat conflicting qualifications are combined in a remarkable manner. He has the broad outlook of the scholar and a man of the world and, at the same time, possesses the grasp of detail necessary for an administrator of public funds. He has raised both the standard of learning in the University and increased its balances. And above all he has retained his interest in life. For the last 50 years Dr Sinha has played a prominent part in the public life of the province and has been intimate with most of the great figures in Northern India and to talk with him is like turning over the pages of modern Indian history. Yet he has retained a freshness of mind and a sense of humour which, in these

*Speech delivered on the occasion of the unveiling of Dr Sachchidananda Sinha's portrait in the Patna University Senate Hall

somewhat disappointing days, are apt to be associated only with youth. May he live long, not only to enjoy the honour in which he is held by his fellow countrymen, but to appreciate, as he so evidently does now, the drama of life as it unfolds itself before him.

I take this opportunity of giving expression to my admiration for him, not only as a great Vice-Chancellor and an elder statesman of this province, but also as a man.

SACHCHIDANANDA SINHA SOME REMINISCENCES

By

KHWAJA SIR MOHAMMAD NOOR

I am very glad to learn that a committee has been formed to present to Dr Sachchidananda Sinha on his retirement from the office of the Vice-Chancellor of Patna University a volume of essays and appreciations in commemoration of his services to our country. He has played an important part in the history of India and particularly of Bihar and it is in the fitness of things that we should express our appreciation of him both as a man and as a public worker. Bihar is immensely indebted to him and I very gladly make my humble contribution to the work by giving my own reminiscences of him.

I came to know Dr Sinha in the closing years of the last century when as a young barrister he used to appear in cases before the courts at Gaya. Gaya in those happy days was a very lucrative field for the young and promising barristers of Patna which was then in fact though not in name the capital of Bihar. Dr Sinha's eloquence attracted my youthful attention in those early days and I began to admire him though I was then a student and too humble a being to be in close touch with him. But every one who was of any consequence in Gaya was of definite opinion that there was a bright future before him. Soon after I lost sight of him as Dr Sinha shifted his practice to Allahabad and combined journalism with profession of law by editing *Hindustan Review* whose forcible articles were very much appreciated. Dr Sinha entered into politics very early. I remember his moving an important resolution at the Calcutta Session of the Indian National Congress in 1922 held under the presidency of Sir Dinshaw Wacha. He took a very prominent part in the agitation for the separation of Bihar from Bengal. It is an open secret that it was to a very large extent through his influence on the late lamented Sir Ali Imam that Bihar became a separate province. I well remember that in the joint address presented by the Gaya Municipal and District Boards to Sir Alexander Mackenzie, the then Lieutenant Governor of Bengal (which then included Bihar and Orissa) the separation of Bihar was suggested but Sir Alexander treated the suggestion with contempt and characterised it as the talk of the silly season. But through the untiring efforts of those who had set their hearts upon the separation of whom Dr Sinha was the most prominent, the separation was brought about in 1912.

In the year 1909, Dr. Sinha presided over the second session of the Bihar Provincial Conference held at Bhagalpore. The Morley-Minto Reform was on the anvil. Lord Minto, in reply to the Muslim deputation, had practically assured them that they will get separate representation. This was resented by the Hindus. It is not for me to discuss here the merits or demerits of separate electorates. I am only referring to the fact, namely, that while the Muslims demanded it, the Hindus opposed it. It was at this juncture that the second Bihar Provincial Conference was held at Bhagalpore. I was present at it. The late lamented Mr. Gokhale attended this session by special invitation. Dr. Sinha, enjoyed the fullest confidence of the Muslims of the time, and under his able guidance the proceedings of the conference were smoothly carried out without in the least creating any disruption among the two great communities of Bihar. The two communities worked shoulder to shoulder for many years thereafter. Unfortunately now the things have changed but it is refreshing to recall how controversial problems were solved in those days, when the prominent Muslims and Hindus of Bihar worked together. I well remember the feeling of delight expressed by Mr. Gokhale in seeing the cordial relations existing between the two communities in Bihar. The credit of this was entirely due to a few prominent men among the Muslims who are, alas, no more, and to the tactful handling of the problems by Dr. Sinha whom God has spared, and to whom we are paying our humble tribute on this occasion.

About a year later, the Morley-Minto Reforms were introduced, and the Legislative Council of Bengal was given two seats in the Imperial Legislative Council. We were proud that one of the two representatives of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa was our Dr. Sachchidananda Sinha. For a full term of three years he worked in the Imperial Legislative Council shoulder to shoulder with most of the prominent men of India. In various debates he fought our battle courageously, advancing most forceful arguments, and putting searching questions in the cause of the public. When Bihar and Orissa became a separate Province, and the Legislative Council of the new province was formed in the beginning of the year 1913, the people of Bihar strongly felt that their representative in the Imperial Legislative Council from the Legislative Council of Bihar and Orissa should be no other than Dr. Sachchidananda Sinha.²² It, however, so happened that the late Mr. Madhusudan, Das, who later became Minister for Bihar and Orissa, became anxious to go to the Imperial Legislative Council, though he was already a nominated member of the Bihar and Orissa Legislative Council. It was then felt by the prominent men of Bihar that nothing should be done to wound the feeling of Orissa, and everything done to conciliate it, as there was some agitation amongst a section of Oriyas on account of Orissa having been attached to Bihar. I distinctly remember

the conference held at Patna in the house of Dr. Sinha. I was present there as I had been returned to the newly formed Legislative Council. The situation was at once realised by Dr. Sinha, and he showed a very commendable spirit of magnanimity by retiring in favour of Mr. Madhusudan Das. Later, when the successor of Mr. Das in the Imperial Legislative Council, was appointed a member of the Provincial Executive Council Dr. Sachchidananda Sinha was again elected to the Imperial Legislative Council, and worked with zeal and energy which are his own.

On the introduction of the Montague Chelmsford Reform Dr. Sinha was elected a member of the Legislative Assembly of India and in the fitness of things was elected, early in 1921 its first Deputy President which post he held till his appointment as a member of the Executive Council of Bihar and Orissa where he held the most important portfolios of Finance and Justice. During the five years, when he controlled the finances of the province of Bihar and Orissa, the nation building departments of Government received most generous considerations and the grievances of the Ministers that the allotments of the public revenue to their departments were not adequate were to a very large extent removed. For about a year he held the office of the President of the Legislative Council along with the Executive Councillorship. Even then he had the fullest confidence of the non-official members of the Council. I succeeded him as the President of the Council. He was a tower of strength to the official benches. I remember that on a number of occasions when the non-official element in the Council was in temper and a storm was expected his intervention with a humorous speech smoothed the situation. During my time of the Presidentship of the Council he, in turn occupied both the official and opposition benches. In both capacities he worked admirably to the satisfaction of all concerned.

Dr. Sinha's public services did not cease on his relinquishing the Executive Councillorship of Bihar. He served in the Legislative Council and later in the Bihar Legislative Assembly of which he is still a member. He was a member of the committee appointed to define the boundaries for the proposed province of Orissa. Here again he worked tactfully and tried to satisfy the aspirations of Orissa without causing damage to Bihar. In the year 1936, he succeeded me as the Vice-Chancellor of the Patna University which post he held for eight years, during four terms. This appointment was very appropriate. Immediately on the separation of Bihar a strong committee under the presidentship of Mr. (afterwards Sir) Robert Nathan was appointed by the Bihar Government to recommend the establishment of a University for Bihar. Dr. Sinha was a prominent member of this Committee. Though for various reasons (which need not be referred to now) the

University established at Patna was not of the type recommended by that Committee, Dr. Sinha never deviated from the opinion he had then formed, and he gradually did his utmost to bring the Patna University, as far as possible, on the lines recommended by the Committee.


The public services of Dr. Sinha are too numerous to be enumerated. I have only mentioned those in which I had the honour of being more or less associated with him, or his work or services which I had seen myself. The Allahabad University honoured Bihar by conferring upon him a Doctorate in the year 1937. The Sinha Library and Radhika Sinha Institute at Patna are living monuments of his generosity and public spirit. He has founded medals to be awarded to the students of the Patna University in the name of his father, wife, and other members of his family.

Dr. Sinha's hospitality is known throughout India. His house and table are open to the visitors to Patna irrespective of their political views. Though an old member of the Congress, he had to sever connection with it, yet among both the Congressmen and the Muslim Leaguers he has many personal friends and enjoys their confidence. I have refrained from expressing my admiration of Dr. Sinha in stronger terms, as he is a very intimate friend of mine. He treats me as a brother and I am afraid if I write more panegyrics, it may be said that every one is a hero to his valet. May God spare him so that he may serve his country and province for many more years.

“SOBER AND MELLOW”

By

SIR KAILAS NARAYAN HAKSHU

HEN the doughty requisitioner of this tribute of respect and affection sent forth his fiat to me he said If you do not know Dr Sinha so intimately as to be able to write an appreciation you may write an article on any subject in the Sinha Commemoration Volume

He could not have used a sharper spur to egg on a jaded war horse than the affront of his seemingly accommodating suggestion. Yet in finding a caption for my theme I have tried to maintain the pretence of choosing his other alternative

Steadfast of aim tenacious of purpose with a capacious heart and a distinctive vein of idealism—such a man is the veteran lawyer journalist and politician addressed as ‘Bhai Sahib’ by those to whom he has endeared himself

It is more than forty five years ago since I broke bread with him at his house (7 Elgin Road Allahabad) in the company of two very interesting men who had already become notabilities—Bertrand Keightley and Bishan Narain Dar, the latter President of the Calcutta Session of the Congress held in 1911

The evening opened with sallies of wit on the part of the guests, while their solicitous host remained busy with providing for their creature comforts

Sinha—‘Keightley I have ordered vegetarian food for you as I presume that you do not eat meat’

Keightley—‘I do not eat it when I do not get it’

Sinha—Bishan, Will you have vermouth or sheffy ?

A wag—What about the bottle of whisky at the bottom of the trunk ?

So passed a happy evening during which we were regaled with a piece of majestic verse in Urdu entitled *Fazilat a Ilm*

In Allahabad, Mr Sinha kept an open house and being in the heyday of youth lived very fashionably—a well appointed bungalow smartly-dressed servants and Japanned trays and boxes, for the transport of his papers. Outside in the grounds was a tennis court to which flocked all the young hopefuls from the local ‘Bounteous Mother’

At the Bar, Mr Sinha was a smart junior quite the coming man But he had varied interests outside his briefs e. g. *Kayasth Pathshala* and *Kayasth Samachar*, the latter (since 1903) known as the *Hindustan Review* As happens in life Mr Sinha was parted from his friends of the Inns of Court and had put behind

him the giddy life of London town, but they all—scattered though they were over the four corners of India—still remembered the lively person they used to call “The Black Lion”. I wonder if this sobriquet will recall to Mr. Sinha’s mind, should he chance to read this effusion, and enable him vividly to picture the riotous scenes of his life in London and the friends who fondly, even if rudely, gave him that pet name.

Mr. Sinha, the Barrister, young as he was, had a reputation for mother-wit, trenchancy and courage. He carried this reputation to the Imperial Legislative Council. During a heated debate on the Panjab disturbances of 1919, I remember him saying from the floor of the House, with peculiar aptness, about the then official block who voted solidly each time :—

“Theirs not to reason why.

Theirs not to make reply.

Theirs but to vote and die.”

In due course, Mr. Sinha, much to the regret of his friends, shifted himself to Patna—his home in Bihar. He continued to be interested in politics and became Finance Member in the Provincial Government. As such, he showed strength, always formed his own judgments, refused to be a piece of putty in the hands of his Secretaries, or even the Governor—with the result that he has remained “Mr.” Sinha !

Dr. Sinha now belongs to the category of our elder statesmen. The fire of patriotism which burns in his breast is no longer a scorching blaze : nevertheless, it is a steady flame, as it needs must be in every honest man of affairs who has seen much, experienced much and accomplished not a little. But apart from the service to the country given unflaggingly and ungrudgingly, Dr. Sinha is a person who compels affection by his fidelity and his constancy. A devoted husband, he has raised a memorial to his late wife which provides varied pabulum for scholars; while to his friends he is still a staunch, devoted and warm-hearted companion and adherent that he ever was and is, by his nature.

Dr. Sinha’s genuine affection, his typically oriental quality of attachment and his many little acts of kindness form a silken cord which binds his friends to him even though thousands of miles lie between him and them. Long may he live as a refreshing example of western knowledge and culture super-imposed upon the scale of values of life peculiar to his country.

“To whom is glory justly due ?

To those who Pride and Hate subdue.


Who when reviled, their tongues restrain

And injured, injure not again”.

DR SACHCHIDANANDA SINHA AN IMPRESSIONIST SKETCH

By

SIR C. RAMALINGA REDDY

 R. Sachchidananda Sinha is one of the most remarkable contemporary personalities in India—a big man in every way and hearty big if not in body big in mind and biggest of all in heart. I don't know of any one so genial so lovable. He is utterly without pose, pretence and affectation of any kind, always simple, straight and sincere, calling a spade a spade, and refusing to accept mystic valuations that contradict conscience and common sense. Like all healthy minded rationalists he abhors saints and all that savours of moral and spiritual attitudinising, a positivist to the core and no camouflager. He laughs with leonine roar, jokes and enjoys jokes, but this lightness of manner is allied with serious purpose and intense humanism. Indians are apt to think—we are a melancholy race—that no one could be serious that is not also grave. More robust folk take a different view and act differently. Dr Sinha is one such. He was Finance Member in the Government of Lord Sinha and his successors and his calculations were as minute as those of a Bania. He practised at the Bar and very successfully too. He has made plenty of money and is even now not a bad hand at that pursuit—proof that levity of manner has not interfered with his capacity and application for business. More than earning he has known the art of philanthropy, not only as a theory but as something remarkably well illustrated by himself. The splendid library which he has donated to the City of Patna is evidence of two of the finest traits that human nature is capable of—devotion to wife and promotion of public culture. He was the Vice-Chancellor of Patna University for a long number of years and he governed it with as much wit as wisdom. Boredom and Sinha can never go together. He is ever alive and keeps everybody lively. He is the host of Patna—and more lavish of hospitality than most individuals and generous to a fault. If a list of all those that stayed as his guests, and would not depart in a hurry is made it would be an impressive catalogue of contemporary persons of merit, national and foreign. His house is an international fraternity where questions of pith and moment affecting India, and the world are talked over brilliantly as well as profoundly. Dr Sinha's boyishness is the effect of his ever-youthful spirit, his effervescence of mind and heart, and his insatiable curiosity which keeps on expanding his range of interests and taking him to fresh fields and pastures new. There was once in ancient Greece a laughing philosopher. We have in Dr Sachchidananda Sinha a laughing humourist.

'Far may you search before you find a heart so noble and so kind



Dr. B. Sinha as President, Bihar Legislative Council (1921-22)

MY RELATIONS WITH DR. SACHCHIDANANDA SINHA

By

NAWAB MIRZA YAR JUNG BAHADUR

It is with pleasure that I contribute to the Dr. Sachchidananda Sinha Commemoration Volume. I have had very happy associations with him. Situate as we are, I seldom get occasions to meet my old friend Sinha, well known to the public as Dr. Sachchidananda Sinha. But distance, time and space have never chilled my love and admiration for him. I love him because his company has been so genial and cheerful to me in the past. In the words of Ghalib I can speak of him in the following terms

شرط اسلام بود ورزش ایمان بالغیب اے تو عائب ز نظر مہر تو ایمان من ست

“It is one of the conditions of Islam that faith should be practised quietly in solitude without show. Oh ! my friend, though thou art absent from me, yet thy love has ever been my faith” Such is the nature of my relationship with him. Again I admire him for all the services that he has calmly and quietly been rendering to our common motherland. There is hardly a field of public activity in which he has not taken part during the last half a century. The thing which strikes me most about him is his non-communal attitude and outlook on life. Amongst Muslims he can count as staunch friends as he can do amongst Hindus. In view of the forces of disruption that are working today, I may be excused for a little diversion on the subject of Hindu Muslim unity, for knowing Dr. Sinha as I do, I feel that in doing so I would really be placing his views before the public.

The unity, not only amongst different communities but even amongst members of a family, descended from a common stock, may be liable to spasmodic jerks, but such jerks can never be sufficient evidence to refute the general proposition that Hindu-Muslim unity is essential for the very life of India. You kill this spirit and India dies. That this unity did exist between Hindus and Muslims in the past is irrefutably established by the manner in which our old villages, towns and cities grew up. Take any big city of India— Lucknow, Delhi, Benares or Agra. If one were to mark every Hindu house with the letter ‘H’ and every Mohammedan house with the letter ‘M’ in a big city like Lucknow, and then fly over it, he will find these letters so intermixed and huddled together as the builders of those houses actually were. The relative position of their houses

will reflect how much interwoven they were in their social life. At some places even their places of worship may be found adjacent to each other. These are immovable pieces of evidence of inter-communal relationship in the past. Could those people have so founded and populated such cities without the existence of that bond of unity and friendship which drew them so close together? Could they adopt that form of living without creating ties of friendship and respect for each other? Social intercourse reciprocal exchange of sympathies on occasions of joy and sorrow are the necessary concomitants of such forms of living. If our cities afford general evidence of such unity personalities like those of Dr. Sinha furnish special evidence of close ties of friendship and unity that exist between members of these communities. In the history of my country there has never been a period more critical than the present one.

It seems to me that the forces that are working in the world today will soon raise the question not only of nations against nations but of continents against continents or even of West against East. In such a contingency dissected India means its absorption in some outside centripetal force. United India may not only prevent such a catastrophe but may place it in a position of leadership in the East. It is a question of now or never. No individual province of India can resist the world wide forces staring in its face. But all the provinces of India united together may repel them successfully provided Hindus and Muslims could live together feel together and work together. If Hindus and Muslims could live together in our villages towns and cities for centuries in the past, could they not live together in the bigger area of a province in future? For creating this mentality amongst members of both communities no man is better fitted than Dr. Sinha. In leading the youth of India on this path he has been a guiding star. I am against any scheme which closets Hindus and Muslims in separate water tight compartments, in the shape of Hindu provinces and Muslim provinces. It is true that Hindus and Muslims do exist in this country in the form of two communities with their religious differences but this circumstance never separated them in the past and should not separate them in future. Is there any thing inherent in Islam or Hinduism which serves as a bar or prevents social intercourse between the two communities? I can say that Islam has never been a bar to it. On the other hand my reading of the history of Islam leads me to the conclusion that its success in this world depended very much upon the preaching and practising of equality amongst human beings. Does Hinduism stand in the way? As shown above old Hinduism did not so stand in the past. If so Hinduism of today should be far from it as its ever growing tendency


is to break through the shackles of caste etc. Feelings of Indian nationality have been growing by leaps and bounds. They strike Indian youths pointedly the moment they leave the shores of their country. Whether Hindus or Muslims, they carry the common stamp of Indian nationals on their foreheads wherever they go. The duality of these communities does not destroy the individuality of the Indian Nation. There is nothing in the conception of duality itself to prevent the formation of one individuality out of two parts. The whole body of man is formed of two parts—two hands, two eyes, two ears—sometimes varying in their strength and formation. But in the scheme of Providence, the existence of these two sides did not prevent the formation of one individual with these very two parts. In no country in the world today religion alone is the test of nationality. Muslim Chinaman in Buddhist China is found leading armies against Buddhist Japanese of Buddhist Japan. The soil of India has become the hearth and home of Muslims as much as of Hindus. Mere immigration is no test. History shows that the ancestors of more than half the population of England today were immigrants at one time. Even Hindus originally came as immigrants to the soil of India. The life of Dr. Sinha illustrates how it is possible to serve India as one body while retaining his connection with the Hindu community. India has been giving birth to many sons of this type. Raja Ram Mohan Roy, Ranade, Tyabjee, Surendranath Banerjee, Gokhale, and Tagore may be quoted as instances only. I have ever believed in Hindu-Muslim friendship. This is my personal experience. When I was a student at the college, the whole of my future career was moulded by a Hindu friend of mine, stronger than whom my brother could not love me. My personal experiences of Hindu-Muslim relations in the past have made me an optimist in this respect. I doubt very much whether the division of India into two parts—Muslim India and Hindu India—is the proper solution of Hindu-Muslim problem. Firstly, it is not practicable. Secondly, as Hindus will continue to reside in Muslim India and Muslims will continue to reside in Hindu India, the problem will remain unsolved. Even if such division be made possible, it will breed germs of unhealthy competition and rivalry between the two parts which may affect the interests of the whole. Instead of bridging the gulf, it will widen it. The possibility of future union may be thrown still further back. The artificial common platform of Federal Government may become a battle ground for both the communities, and even in this platform, schism may be created of a character which it will be difficult to remedy in future. The wound may soon assume an ugly shape. It is doubtful whether the Muslim intelligentsia as a whole takes the division theory very seriously. Dr. Sinha possesses a character which would not make him a party to such a scheme. Now, take the question of

majority rule in the future constitution of Government of India. When a question arises between the two communities, which stand in the position of majority and minority then to make the votes of the majority community the deciding factor is to clothe one of the two parties with the position of a judge. It is unfair on the face of it. Therefore, in my opinion, the solution lies in framing a constitution under which power may be so divided between these communities that one may never be able to wield it in a manner detrimental to the interest of the other. That on some communal questions, the majority votes of the community directly affected should serve as *ratio decidendi* while on others *ad hoc* committees may be constituted in such a manner that the voting capacity of both may be equally balanced. The majority rule will of course stand in some form or another but its mode of working will be adapted to the circumstances prevailing in the country. I as a Muslim would not hesitate to make Dr Sinha an arbiter on all such communal questions relating to the future constitution of India for I believe that as a judge he will rise above all communalism. Such is the confidence which the character of Dr Sinha has inspired in me as a Muslim. The life of such an Indian deserves commemoration. In my opinion the solution of Hindu Muslim problem lies also in meeting and understanding each other as of old. It lies in disseminating knowledge of the forces which can swallow both the communities if they remain disunited. It lies in reverting to the old system of cultivating close friendship between Hindus and Muslims. My friend Sinha is, I know a champion of this cause, and a living illustration of how a member of one community can command the love and respect of another. The sincere and frank talks of Sinha his jovial disposition his dispassionate views even on communal questions whether he agrees with you or not, his disregard for ostentation and show his sincere desire to serve the country, his fearlessness in expressing his views are some only of the many good traits of his character which has endeared him to many of his friends. They appeal to me equally. May he live long to serve our mother country India!

DR. SACHCHIDANANDA SINHA

By

DR. SIR P. S. SIVASWAMY AYYER,

F the many public men in India, in the present generation, who have done distinguished service to the country, Dr Sachchidananda Sinha is one of the foremost. He has served the country in various capacities, and has done so with conspicuous success in all of them. By his high character and attainments, his capacity for friendship and the generosity of his disposition, of which his munificent gift of a public library and a Town Hall to the capital of Bihar are only some of the instances, he has acquired a high place in the esteem and affections of his fellow-citizens. The fact that he seceded from the Congress when it embarked on a programme of non-co-operation and civil disobedience is an indication of his courage and independence of spirit. The same independence had been displayed by him when he went to England for study at the age of eighteen, and married a lady belonging to a different section of the Kayastha community. As founder and editor of the *Hindustan Review* for forty-five years, as Finance Member of the Executive Council of Bihar, as Vice-Chancellor of the University of Patna for four terms, as a Member of the Imperial Legislature, and also of the Provincial Council, as President of the Bihar Legislative Council, and in numerous other capacities, his opportunities for acquiring experience and a knowledge of public life were uncommon. The fact that a second edition has been called for of his speeches and writings is itself sufficient proof of the appreciation which they have met with at the hands of the public. The speeches of public men generally create only a temporary interest, and it is seldom that they are read years after their original delivery. It is only those that possess exceptional merit that tempt the public to read them over again. It depends upon literary merit, the nature of the topics they deal with, the value of the views and opinions which they express, and the esteem in which the speakers or writers are held. Tried by all these tests, the speeches and writings of Dr. Sinha are entitled to claim the attention of the reading public, as his views on public questions are the result of wide and careful study, a well-balanced judgment, and a desire to do justice to all aspects of a question. His extensive knowledge of English literature, his abundant sense of humour, and his literary flair combine to invest his style with a charm of its own. His knowledge and experience of public affairs and the sobriety of his views are bound to appeal to all critical readers. A man of very loveable personality, he has been justly described by my friend, the late Sir C. Y. Chintamani, as one "who never lost a friend or made an enemy".

DR SACHCHIDANANDA SINHA

By

(THE LATE) RAJA SIR NARENDRA NATH

I HAVE known Dr Sachchidananda Sinha for the last fifty years. He had married a lady belonging to a distinguished family in Lahore. I was on terms of intimate friendship with his father-in-law the late Lala Seva Ram whose sudden death at Calcutta came as a shock to all who knew him. Though I have not come into frequent contact with Dr Sinha, yet I have watched his career with interest. He took to the profession of Law but his literary tastes drew him towards journalism for which he evinced a marked predilection. *Hindustan Review* on account of Dr Sinha's continued and unabated interest in it, has come to occupy a distinguished place amongst Indian periodicals. He was the Vice-Chancellor of the Patna University for more than eight years. He was selected by Lord Sinha to be one of his Executive Councillors in charge of Finance.

Dr Sinha is a keen social reformer. He is one of those who think that political reform should go hand in hand with social reform, that politics is a branch of sociology and that the two cannot be divorced. In his public life Dr Sinha has acted on the dictum of Aristotle that the middle course is the best and the wisest to adopt. He does not belong to that school of thought who believe that unless the reasons are good for an extreme case they are good for no case at all. He is honoured and respected by all schools of thought amongst politicians and publicists. He has throughout been independent and though he occupied high positions he has never been a persona grata with the bureaucracy. He supports everything in the Congress creed which appeals to his balanced reason and in the Mahasabha so far as it stands for the protection of the legitimate rights of Hindus. He has maintained his independence of thought by rejecting everything in a creed whether of the Congress or the Mahasabha which savours of extremism and is the result of emotion whether conciliatory or militant and which he considers to be devoid of any permanent value. He claims respect from Congressmen, Liberals or Hindu Mahasabhaists without participating with them in condemnatory vituperations against other parties. He does not compromise his principles in theory or practice, in giving expression to which he avoids offensive language.

The above trait of his public life is attributable to his temperament in which rationalism plays a prominent part. Reason and experience of human nature determine his views and his course of action. He is one of those who attach more value to reason than to emotion, passion or sentimentalism, the outbursts of which, in his opinion, serve a temporary purpose and in most cases handicap the course of normal progressive evolution. We need more public men of his type who will be able to reconcile mutually hostile schools of thought which are not altogether devoid of substratum of truth. The divisions amongst our public men are due to lack of breadth of outlook which Dr. Sinha possesses in an eminent degree. I join with many friends in congratulating Dr. Sinha on his completing his tenure of office as the Vice-Chancellor of the Patna University, which he has held with such distinction for four terms. I hope he will be spared long to serve his country in his unostentatious manner. I am glad his friends and admirers have joined in presenting him this Volume in appreciation of his public life.

SACHCHIDANANDA SINHA

By

MR. SYED ABDUL AZIZ

THE proposal to commemorate the regime of Dr Sachchidananda Sinha as Vice Chancellor of the Patna University by presenting to him a volume of Essays and Addressess written for this occasion will be greatly appreciated and widely supported by people in general and in particular by his friends and admirers who have known him intimately. Dr Sinha is one of the vastly read men. His knowledge of a large variety of subjects, his literary ability, legal acumen, remarkable power of expression manifest in his words both spoken and written, have given him a fame which has not been the lot of many to enjoy. He was called to the English Bar when there were very few Barristers in India. He never applied himself seriously to his professional work. His numerous occupations of public character militated against that success which he was capable of acquiring in the legal profession. But, inspite of his disinclination or failure to attend exclusively to his profession he did rise to an eminence at the Bar, which took him out of the category of mediocre lawyers by virtue of his general knowledge, strong commonsense and mastery of two elegant languages English and Urdu. His writings, speeches, and even conversation are seldom without an amusing anecdote or personal touchys. They are often interspersed with wit and humour which sometimes carry sting. But the parties affected by them do not mind them much, as his remarks however pungent, are always free from ill will.

Space prevents any account of his public services and social life extending over a period of now fifty years but I cannot refrain from stating a special feature of his social contribution which has not only added to the happiness of the people who came in contact with him but has often proved a source of political advantage and public good. He not only maintains an open table but invents excuses to hold private dinness or public functions to entertain friends, visitors and public workers. The cordiality of his relations with the Muslims is rarely to be seen in the new generation of an unfortunate age. He combines in himself the culture and tradition of the old times with the accomplishments of the modern people in things which are useful and beautiful. A unique relation that subsisted between Dr Sinha and the late Imam brothers, Sir Ali Imam and Mr

Hasan Imam, strengthens my belief that Hindu Muslim unity both for political and social purposes is not impossible to achieve. Sir Ali and Mr. Hasan Imam, at the very commencement of their professional career included Dr. Sinha in their family group and the three proved and came to be known as brothers. Sir Ali's father, Nawab Shamsul Olema Syed Imdad Imam, who survived his two illustrious sons was always called and treated by Dr Sinha as father.

I came to know Dr. Sinha when I was brought from my native place to Patna for education over forty years ago. He was then living in the same house with Sir Ali Imam. The three gave promise of their future greatness and soon came into prominence. Ever since I came in contact with Dr. Sinha I have treated him as a closest cousin, and during the last three decades we have borne deepest attachment towards each other. I have always addressed him as "Bhai" (brother), and he always calls me by the pet name given to me by the elders of my family. And ever since I came to know Dr. Sinha when I was a student in my teens, I have regarded it as a great privilege. It was to me a matter of peculiar pleasure that I, in the capacity of Education Minister, should have been instrumental in having him in the first instance, as Vice-Chancellor of Patna University. His profound learning and successful administration of the University affairs have led to his appointment as Vice-Chancellor for the second, the third and the fourth term. This is a rare honour and we all pray he may yet live to serve the best interests of the University for many years to come.

DR SACHCHIDANANDA SINHA A PERSONAL TRIBUTE

By

MR. N. C. KELKAR

FIRST came into personal contact with Dr Sachchidananda Sinha at Allahabad in 1905 when I was on my way to Benares on a pilgrimage both religious and political. For that was the year of the Congress session at Benares under the presidentship of Mr G. K. Gokhale. Even before that time I was known to him as Editor of the *Mahratta* and he was known to me as Editor of the *Hindustan Review*. Our acquaintance soon grew into personal friendship. I have occasionally contributed to the *Hindustan Review*, and have always admired the way in which that Review has been conducted.


Living in different Provinces and far off places, we have not had many opportunities of coming into close personal contact in the field of active politics. But I have known Dr Sinha as a very sane, level-headed politician, who possesses ardent public spirit and patriotism and who has been a very forceful though reasonable critic of the Government. I do not think he has even cared to be an avowed leader or ally of any particular political party. But well known are his sympathies with any political group or party in India, which in his view, works and strives for political freedom for India. By his own personal merit and qualifications he has earned the honours in public life both official and non-official which he received. And he was one of the few men to my knowledge, who escaped bitter public criticism in the conduct of public affairs which were entrusted to him. He loves independence but does not parade it like a glorified free lance. His detachment arises out of his toleration. And his friendliness is due to his wide sympathies.

I should like to end this appreciation on a note of personal sentiment. He is one of the few friends whom I may claim to possess outside of Maharashtra. It is not often that we write letters to each other. But the few letters from him which I have received and preserved breathe a spirit of cordiality and friendliness which transcend formality and are a source of sincere goodwill. He is older than me in years and also in achievement. I wish him long life.

DR. SACHCHIDANANDA SINHA . AN APPRECIATION

By,

MR. KALINATH RAY

 HERE are some public men who adopt journalism as a career, or for the propagation of their views, and there are some journalists who become public men in the course of their evolution. I have followed Dr Sachchidananda Sinha's public activities for the last forty years, and have known him fairly intimately for more than twenty years, but I have not so far been able to decide in my mind whether he is a public man first and a journalist next, or a journalist first and a public man afterwards. Nature appears to have marked him out at once for public life and for journalism, for he has shown equal aptitude for both

When I say this I am not forgetful of the fact that besides the active and prominent part he has taken in the foundation of several newspapers in the United Provinces, and in Behar, and contributing numerous articles, from time to time, to various newspapers on topical, and especially political, subjects, Dr. Sachchidananda Sinha's journalistic work has, for the most part, consisted in the editing of the *Hindustan Review*, while as a public man he has not only been an active and very useful member of both the old Imperial Legislative Council, and the present Central Legislative Assembly, but held with equal credit and distinction such important offices as those of Deputy President of the Central Legislative Assembly, President of the Behar Legislative Council, members of the Behar Executive Council, and Vice-Chancellor of the Patna University, and he was specially invited, while in England in 1933, to appear as a witness before the Joint Parliamentary Committee on Indian Reforms, and submitted a memorandum on the White Paper from the point of view of constitutional Nationalists, which evoked widespread interest and much admiration. But while his work as a public man has been of great and enduring value, and it is a matter of no small credit to him that he was the first Indian to be appointed Finance Member of a Provincial Government in the days of Diarchy, it is impossible to ignore the equally, if not even more, valuable work done by him in educating public opinion through his writings in the *Hindustan Review* and his articles in the Press, which have invariably been characterised by sanity, candour and independence, and have exercised a steadying influence upon contemporary Indian thought and life at a

time when there have been so many forces at work to unsettle men's minds and drive them to extremes in thought and in action

Whether as a public man or as a writer on current topics the unfailing characteristics of Dr Sinha's utterances indeed have been their refreshing candour and outspokenness on one side and their complete freedom from malice and bitterness on the other. These may appear commonplace virtues to the dispassionate reader because they are so just and proper but if the dispassionate reader ever tries, he may find the virtues not so easy as they look. Dr Sinha is one of the select band of writers and speakers on current and controversial topics who can write or speak with the utmost strength and vigour without exciting venom or animosity. This is partly due to the fact that besides having an equable temper he has a fund of that indefinable gift of humour which the large majority of writers and speakers conspicuously lack. I do not remember a single important article written by him or a single important speech made by him in which I have not noticed an abundance of this quality and which for this very reason has not been at once effective and enjoyable.

Another thing which has partly contributed to the same result is that all these speeches and writings are the product of an essentially literary mind one distinguishing characteristic of which is its capacity for dealing in a lighter vein with all sorts of subjects including even those in which it is profoundly interested. With all his strength of conviction and his eagerness to improve men and things the man of letters is perpetually alive to the futility of trying to effect large changes in human affairs merely by the severity of the spoken or the written word. Nor for that matter does he mistake mere strong words for strong judgment. On the contrary he sees only too clearly that sanity moderation and restraint are qualities in a speech or article which are far more telling in their ultimate effect and of far more enduring value than the use of words that by their very vehemence are calculated to alienate rather than persuade those to whom they are addressed.

To these qualities of Dr Sachchidananda Sinha's writings and speeches I must add a third to give a complete idea of what I have in my mind when I think of his public work. It is the happy blending of the ideal and the real. Dr Sachchidananda Sinha as every one knows, though no longer a member of the Congress shares fully the Congress ideal of complete independence for India. But he is realistic enough to perceive that complete national independence in the sense of severance of the British connection even if it were a desirable object, as to which two opinions are possible and two opinions do exist, is

impossible of realisation by the Congress method of non-violence, which is the sole method open to India at present. He knows that willynilly India must pass through the intermediate stage of Dominion Status before she can hope to reach the goal of isolated independence, if, indeed, she wishes to reach that goal at all, because it is only as a Dominion that India can either develop the strength to cut the painter or maintain herself in an independent state after the painter has been cut. To talk of isolated independence at the present stage is to betray one's profound inability to understand the elements of the problem. Dr. Sachchidananda Sinha has never made that mistake, though he believes as firmly and as passionately in the goal of India's complete national and constitutional independence as any Congressman can do. Such a man is at all times, and specially at the present time, a valuable asset at once to journalism and to public life. In offering my warm felicitations to Dr. Sinha on this auspicious occasion, I hope and pray that he may live long to serve his country and people with the special and uncommon gifts with which he was endowed by nature and which he has so assiduously cultivated and improved by practice

DR. S SINHA AN APPRECIATION

By

DR. RADHA KUMUD MOOKERJI

ONE feels like 'painting the lily or gilding refined gold' in having to write on the life and work of a person of the eminence of Dr. Sachchidananda Sinha. His life is so rich in its events in the range and variety of its activities that it is impossible to give an adequate account of it within the limits permissible on the present occasion. It is difficult to write on a man who represents in himself so much of the history of his country, Dr. Sachchidananda Sinha easily takes his rank as one of the makers of modern India and of Bihar in particular. It is to him and to his senior and closest friend the late Sir Syed Ali Imam that the province of Bihar owes its very existence. Its origin came as a constitutional consequence of the annulment of the Partition of Bengal by the Government of India under the Viceroyalty of Lord Hardinge, who had Sir Syed Ali Imam as the Law Member of his Executive Council. Sir Ali Imam and Dr. Sinha lived like twin brothers, always thinking and acting alike. The current joke was that there was between them one soul animating two bodies. It may be presumed that these two political leaders put their heads together, and planned the creation of Bihar as a separate province as one of the changes that should follow the momentous event of reconstituting Bengal as a linguistic unit. Today, Dr. Sinha stands out as the first citizen of Bihar by his seniority, his experience, and his contributions to public life.

But Dr. Sinha should not be viewed only as a Biharí. He is today one of the foremost Indians. He was the first Indian to be elected to the exalted office of the Deputy President of the Imperial Legislative Council in 1921. In fact his all-Indian and purely provincial activities are very much interlocked. He was for sometime the Speaker of the Bihar Legislative Assembly. He was the first Indian Finance Member in the Government of Bihar under Lord Sinha.

His activities are equally pioneering and fruitful in the field of journalism. His *Hindustan Review* is the earliest monthly of India, and it was hailed with warm approval by that consummate English journalist W. T. Stead of the *Review of Reviews*. He was invited to represent the Indian Newspapers at the first International Press Conference, convened by the League of Nations and has now been

elected to represent the Bihar Press on the Government of India's Press Advisory Committee.

He has had also an active connection with the Indian National Congress, in the days of its Liberal leadership. He was the Secretary of the 27th session of the Congress held at Patna in 1912, while he also filled for years the position of the President of Bihar Provincial Congress Committee.

Many are his political utterances and occasional addresses which rank as contributions to literature both for their matter, and the manner, in which they are presented. To cite only one instance, the speech he delivered as a Member of the Opposition in the Bihar Legislative Council on the Report of the Joint Parliamentary Committee ranks as a classic of its kind, and recalls the burning eloquence of Milton in his *Areopagitica*. Fortunately, there is now available a permanent record of some of his best speeches and writings in the form of a publication which is a most informing and instructive book on modern India and its problems.

Dr. Sinha is singular among Indian leaders today in his combination in himself, with conspicuous success of a number of different, and sometimes contradictory, capacities. A combination of contradictions is the true mark of a genius. It is Dr. Sinha's synthetic and comprehensive genius that can bring together in a natural combination so many diverse functions and capacities. He is at once an Advocate, Politician, Journalist, Legislator, Administrator, Orator, Man of Letters, Philanthropist, and a Conversationalist, all rolled into one.

The latest but not the least important sphere of his public work is the University of Patna which he has built up with such signal success during his four consecutive terms of its Vice-Chancellorship extending over a period of over eight years. The Patna University has achieved under his Vice-Chancellorship remarkable expansion in different directions, in the number of its students, of the colleges affiliated to it, of its buildings, and in its progress in higher study and research.

One wonders how Dr. Sinha has been able to render such conspicuous services in so many spheres of national life, where ordinarily only one such sphere of work is enough for a worker. The secret of his success in so many different fields of work lies in his having a method in life. Heaps of work melt away before method, planning and system. Dr. Sinha is essentially a man of method. One feels inclined to say that sometimes he drives method to madness, but there is a method in that madness. To the outside and superficial observer, his daily life and activities seem to be overmechanised, but a closer and deeper view will reveal that behind the rigour and regularity of his system, there is an irresistible touch of the romantic, and even the revolutionary, of which the first proof he gave in his

early life when as a tender youth he took a deliberate plunge into the unknown and embarked upon the daring adventure of leaving the shores of India for education in England by escaping from his home in secret. All his method and mechanism are rooted in an innate idealism. A warm heart improved by an unbending idealism is always beating under the outer cloak of his method. There is an element of romance of abandon and generosity beneath the superficial coating of the normal and the formal in his personality.

I have had the singular good fortune of observing him in close quarters many times in my life when I was honoured with his hospitality which is known all over the country for its unbounded generosity, and I trace his uncommon capacity for work to his daily habits and time table in which the secret of his greatness is fully revealed. Private life is too solemn and sacred in some of its phases and it would be sacrilege to give it publicity. I therefore content myself with giving only a few of its features and details as follows: finishing about half a dozen *Dailies* before Tea. Tea at 7.30 and office at 8. both breakfast and rest between 11.30 and 3, Tea and guests at 5. drive at 6. study after 7 p.m. up to 11.30 p.m. with a break for dinner at 8.30. It is this timetable which explains Dr. Sinha's success and capacity to achieve so much in so many fields of public work.

He is easily one of the best read men among the political leaders of modern India. His knowledge of men and things is unique. A most well-stocked Library at Patna is among his many public gifts but of all people he utilises this gift most. His knowledge of books is remarkably up to date. The latest arrival at this library are first perused by him and sometimes profusely marked in red and blue before they are accessioned.

With his rare combination of so many functions and qualifications Dr. Sinha has become an institution by himself, one of the generalised individuals and a representative character of his age. Truly has it been said that the history of the world is the biography of its great men and that great men also incarnate the history they create. Dr. Sinha is a living embodiment of a large part of the history of his country and province in the making of which he had such a large share. May he live long upto the prescribed Vedic span of life of 100 years in full health and happiness for the good of the country is the earnest prayer of his many friends and admirers of different communities and provinces united on the present occasion in offering their tribute of appreciation to One who has always placed his people above party, community above caste and country above creed.

SACHCHIDANANDA SINHA'S PERSONALITY

By

DR. SIR SHAFAT AHMAD KHAN

IN the ancient capital of Behar, a unique figure has reigned by his intellect and grace; a salon has existed in a quiet corner which has united for a long time, the most varied personages, into which even the most insignificant have the chance to enter. You find there the foremost men in all spheres of life—politicians, University teachers, Urdu and Hindi scholars, and Dr. Sachchidananda Sinha is the literary centre and focus of this gathering. This kind of literary creation, which humanises the relations between the two communities, and gives free play to the difficult art of conversation, has no parallel in India. Similar institutions may be found in selected circles in Calcutta, and in some well-known houses elsewhere, in the country. But Dr. Sinha's salon is of a different variety. It is distilled spirit fixed in all its essence: one cannot take much of it at a time. Napoleon wrote to his brother Joseph, then king of Naples, who was too fond of men of letters: "You associate too much with men of letters and learning. They are coquettes with whom one should maintain a gallant intercourse, and of whom one should never dream of making either a wife or a minister." To this it may be replied, that Dr. Sinha is not, and has never been, a narrow, lynx-eyed, and dried-up specialist. While he strokes and dissects the texts of MSS, and studies the literature of the period with the minuteness of a pedant, he soars, embraces, generalises. He has the conceptions of an artist and the passions of an orator. Nor is this all. Very few persons in the country are gifted with his versatility, and in his semi-retreat, there is a window looking upon the University office, and a door still half open to politics, while another window looks upon the garden of literature, where you find literature and fine arts, English and Urdu writers, taking an earnest part in conversations which Dr. Sinha lights up with sympathy. We find there also people of the world like himself, whom Dr. Sinha has snatched for a few moments, by dint of persistence, from their laborious tasks.

It is sometimes said that Dr. Sinha amuses himself by harnessing lions and teasing them. This is a complete misunderstanding of the functions of Dr. Sinha's salon. One finds there naturalness, sympathy, and understanding, a capacity for entering into the spirit of the speaker, and an instinctive feeling for the prejudices


of his cosmopolitan gathering. His literary taste is excellent. A French writer has defined taste as the literary conscience of the soul. Judged by this standard Dr Sinha's style of writing and speech shows exquisite taste and judgement. It has voice, soul, space and free air, words that bring their place with them.

I have not had the pleasure of listening to Dr Sinha's speeches in the old Imperial Assembly or in the Behar Legislature, and I am not in a position to form an opinion. In most cases, however, as Cicero has remarked, it is the writer who contributes to form the orator. As a mere boy Dr Sinha had taken Hannibal's oath against tyranny and injustice, and he has waged eternal war and hatred against abuses. It is said that Dr Sinha's speeches lack fire and enthusiasm. To this it may be replied that unless enthusiasm is tempered by caution, brilliance, and grace, any one may carry his audience off his feet if he has sinews, bile, blood and pride. Febrile enthusiasm is not eloquence. There have been moments in Dr Sinha's life when a sedate Chamber has forgotten its gravity in enthusiasm, and all the reserved thoughts, ordinarily sub-conscious and veiled, suddenly acknowledged their brilliant expression and revealed themselves. Dr Sinha, it is true, no longer speaks from the front of the political stage, but this does not trouble him at all, as many of the objects of his affection, to which he dedicated his intellect, have been realised, and are now interwoven with texture of our daily life.

DR. SACHCHIDANANDA SINHA

By

DR. NARAIN PRASAD ASTHANA

Y interest in the Kayastha Social Reform and the Kayastha Pathshala brought me in contact with Mr (now Dr.) Sinha in the nineties of the last century. Mr. Sinha was then practising at Allahabad and while engaged in many other activities, political and journalistic, had also a hand in the management of the Kayastha Pathshala. When the late M. Gobind Prasad was elected its President, Mr. Sinha became the Secretary and from that date his interest in the welfare of this premier institution of Kayasthas has continued upto this moment. During his Secretaryship he planned several tours to collect funds and in one of those, that of Rajputana, I was selected by him to be his companion. How well do I remember the happy days I spent in his company visiting prominent Kayasthas in the various Indian States of Rajputana. It was a great experience. We were given right royal welcome wherever we went and it was not an insignificant sum which we collected. But more than this, we carried the message of Kulbhaskar to the farthest land of Kayasthas and evoked enthusiasm in this far flung community for the cause of education.

In the early nineties when I used to come from Agra to attend the meetings of the Kayastha Pathshala, I usually got asylum in his house at Allahabad—7, Elgin Road—a place well known in those days as the meeting place of all persons engaged in literary pursuits or in social or political reforms. For, next to the late Pandit Moti Lal Nehru, Mr. Sinha was a great social figure at Allahabad. It was here that during my visits I had the occasion of meeting many eminent persons of Allahabad and of other towns in Northern India and Behar. The late Dr. Satish Chandra Banerji, and Sir Tej Bahadur Saprú had already been known to me from my college days. Mr. Sinha used to be surrounded then by a galaxy of intellectual men, whom it was a pleasure to know and a privilege to converse with. As one practising in those days in the *Moffusil* at Agra, it was a great eye-opener to come in contact with the then Provincial Leaders. I cannot sufficiently repay the gratitude which I owe to Mr. Sinha for affording me such valuable opportunities of widening my views and improving my knowledge. In Mr. Sinha, I found then and as I find even now, a man who could give you information on any subject under the sun—so vast is his information and so wide

his knowledge His conversation is always delightful and informing To be near him is to be inspired Often have I sought advice from him and never failed He is a valued friend who will stand in good stead whatever the circumstances and whatever the trouble When I accepted the post of Advocate General offered by the Congress Government over the head of and to the great displeasure of Sir C. Y. Chintamani Mr Sinha had the kindness to call upon me at my residence and advised me not to reject the offer

Mr Sinha is an indefatigable reader and perhaps there comes out no new book on literature, politics or economics or of general interest which does not pass through his hands carefully marked by blue and red pencil, which shows his wide grasp of the subject and his critical faculty in finding out the right passages. He is eminently a literary person whose knowledge is encyclopaedic and profound When the Allahabad University conferred upon him a doctor's degree in literature it honoured itself in honouring him It is but a fitting recognition of his merits that he has been four times appointed the Vice-Chancellor of the Patna University

Mr Sinha's aptitude for despatch of work is marvellous With his manifold activities in several fields of life and with his varied interests, it is simply wonderful how he manages to keep pace with his work Perhaps his vast experience of human life and human affairs comes to his aid Everybody who comes to him goes satisfied and every work he puts his hand to is efficiently done It has been a great privilege for me to enjoy his friendship for such a long time and it has afforded me sincere pleasure to have seen him advancing from position to position in the service of the country

Dr Sinha has justly earned a reputation as a journalist, and it is for journalists to assess his merit. I can only say that the *Hindustan Review* (then as the *Kayastha Samachar*, organ of the Kayastha Pathshala) had since 1900, achieved under his editorship phenomenal success His masterly pen has always been used with great effect in denouncing evil social customs and eradicating them His humorous and sometimes pungent observations have had tremendous influence upon the reading public—specially the students His speeches on political and social matters have illumined many hearts and served as a beacon light to those who have worked or desired to work in those fields It was a great wrench when he left Allahabad to settle down at Patna though he had also kept his house at Allahabad all these years But what had been Allahabad's loss was Patna's gain His munificence to Patna has been great and the Radhika Sinha Library will ever remain a monument of his benefaction to that city ;

In the political field, Dr Sinha has been for the last many years a disaffiliated sort of worker. He has had no party affiliations lately, although in earlier years he used to take part in the Congress movement. As a member of the Legislative Assembly of Behar and afterwards as its President, Dr. Sinha distinguished himself by his thoroughness, good humour and tact. It was left to the late Lord Sinha to discover him and to recommend to the Secretary of State to appoint him as the Finance Member of the Behar Government. In this high office requiring great mastery of facts and figures, Dr. Sinha acquitted himself with great credit, although his independence and anxiety to do good to the country brought him unpopularity in official circles.

Dr. Sachchidananda Sinha is one of the pioneers in Kayastha social reform, having married out of his sub-caste in days when such marriages were not looked with favour. His work as a social reformer was recognised by his election to the Presidentship of the All-India Kayastha Conference held at Delhi. The learned speech which he delivered on the occasion will ever remain as one of the best and will repay perusal by all who wish to work for the Kayastha community.

Such is Dr. Sinha, whom we all felicitate on the termination of his distinguished regime as Vice-Chancellor, and our prayer is that he may live long for the good of the country and the community to which he belongs.

A TRIBUTE

By

DR HADI HASAN.

LAWYER politician aesthete bibliophile, educationist administrator, statesman, writer speaker thinker seer,—these Dr Sachchidananda Sinha definitely is and equally definitely he is cultured—with a blending, marvellous and admirable of the twin cultures of the East and West; magnanimous, like Kalidasa's Cloud —

To thee the thirsty Chatakas complain
Thy only answer is the falling rain
And still such answer from the good proceeds
Who grant our wishes not in words but deeds

brilliant like a terrestrial sun which has been shedding light and lustre upon the planet for more than half a-century and selfless like the Rushis of whom the Rig-Veda sings —

The sacrifice of calm, of truth
The sacrifice of peace of ruth ,
Of Life serenely, purely spent,
And thought profound on Brahma bent—
Who offers these may Death defy
And hope for Immortality

And actually Dr Sachchidananda Sinha has attained immortality in both senses here are *hukht, huwarsh, humat* (good words good deeds, good thoughts) and here are good looks for Dr Sinha looks like fifty and like one who is about to assume and not lay down the reins of office. What surer index can there be of the pure mind the pure body? For his life is gentle, and the elements so mixed in him that Nature might stand up and say to all the world This is a man

SOME ASPECTS OF DR SACHCHIDANANDA SINHA'S LIFE

By

THE HON'BLE MR P. N. SAPRU

AMONG the many eminent public men that this country has produced, Dr. Sachchidananda Sinha will surely rank high. For me it is a peculiar pleasure to pay my humble tribute or respect to him, for I have known him ever since I was a little child, and I have always looked up to him as an uncle. No one who has met Dr. Sinha, who has cared either to read his speeches or his numerous writings, can deny his ability, his literary skill, his capacity for lucidity of thought and expression, his utter sincerity in everything that he writes or says. Success has crowned his effort in many walks of life—law, politics, journalism and education. He has had a rich and varied life, and politics has been but one of the many directions in which his versatile genius has expressed itself.

As a statesman Dr. Sinha belongs to that school which combined idealism with realism. He has dreamt dreams, and seen visions but he has kept his feet firm on the earth. He has aspired high for his country, and he has worked hard for realising those aspirations. And surely it is a great tribute to him that he is universally respected by all parties, and by all sections of the community as a man who has put country first before everything and has striven to serve it with ability and zeal.

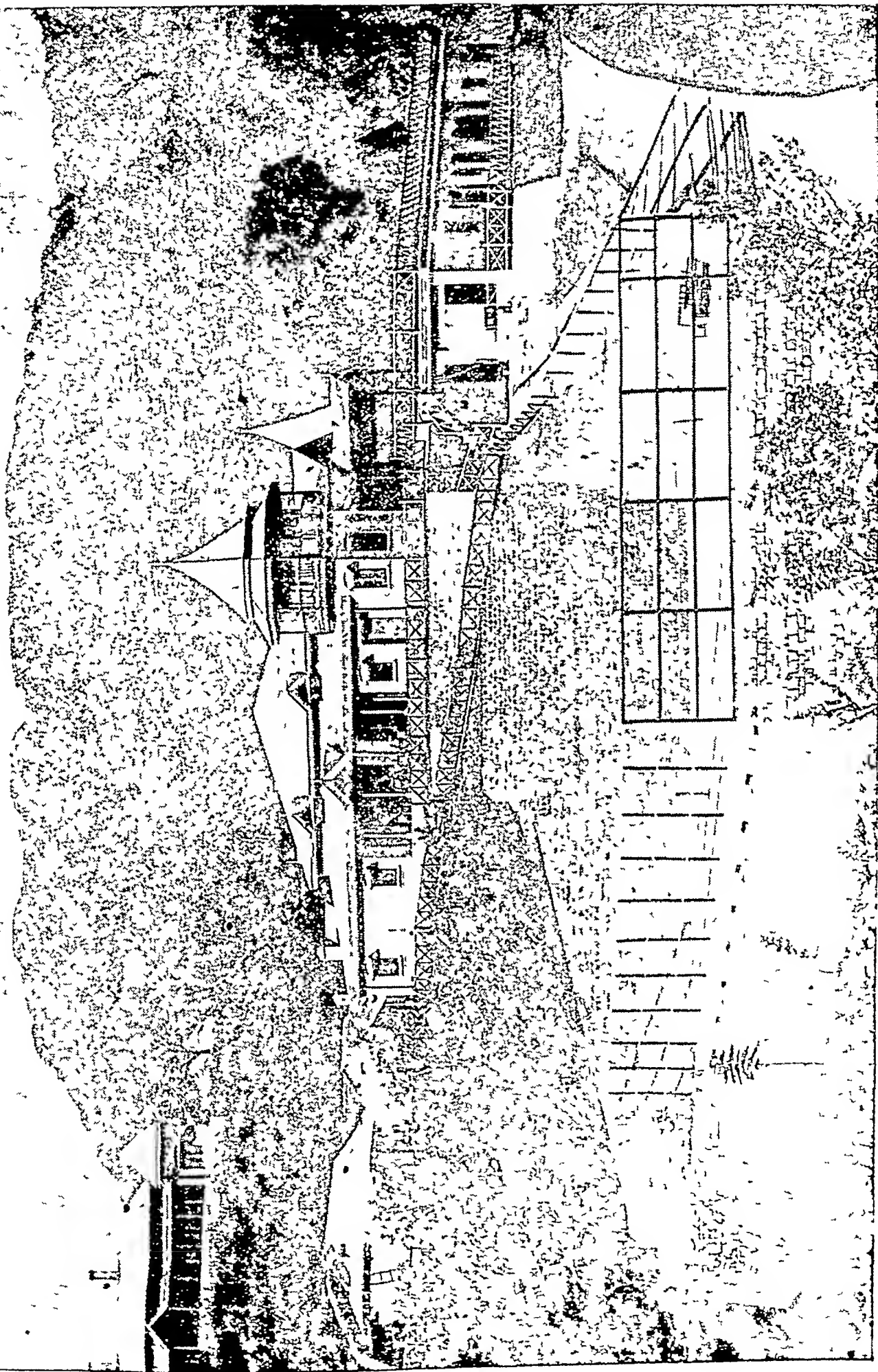
Dr. Sinha was a member of the old Congress, but though in its later years he had to sever his connection with it, this does not at all mean that his views on public questions are not of an advanced character, or that he has not been an independent and severe critic of the policies of the British Government. There are few men who can claim to be as advanced in their political thought as Dr. Sinha is. His independent way of looking at things, however, did not make it possible for him to work with any organization after he left the Congress. And today he is the supreme example of a real non-party man who can bring to bear upon every public question an absolutely unprejudiced and dispassionate mind. That a man of his mature experience should be a little cautious in his approach is perhaps inevitable. What is surprising is not that he is not cautious but that he has a mind broad, tolerant and elastic enough to appreciate any new idea and to adapt it as his own, if he is satisfied that it will work. It is this catholicity of

mind, this capacity for adjustment, for movement which distinguishes him from many men of his generation, and which enables him to keep himself perpetually young

For youth is Dr Sinha's strong point. One can never feel in his company that one is talking to a man of seventy four. He is so full of life, so full of vigour so vivacious in his approach and in his conversation. A master of good English prose his speeches and writings vibrate with wit and humour—uncommon among Indian statesmen and politicians. Life for him has been a serious business but he has held fast to the view that a jovial temper and a little humour add not only to the gaiety but also to the richness of life. No public speaker who wishes to understand how a sarcasm or wit and humour can add to the utility of public discussion, can afford to miss Dr Sinha's speeches or writings.

Most lawyers find law an exacting mistress and they are hardly able to give any time to public work. Such has not been the case with Dr Sinha. In his own profession Dr Sinha attained a position of eminence. He was a leading lawyer for a long series of years in the Patna High Court, and there is no doubt that he is an accomplished advocate. Great as has been his success in the profession of law his success in journalism and politics has been greater. And it is in these spheres that he has made most useful contributions.

Dr Sinha was for years a member of the old Imperial Council, Central Legislative Assembly and the Bihar Legislative Council. Many and varied were the contributions that he made to discussions in those bodies. Always his speeches were characterised by sturdy independence, freshness of outlook and sparkling humour. For the great quality of Dr Sinha is that he can make you laugh. He can joke and what is more difficult, enjoy a good joke. As a speaker he is full of anecdotes and he has a very telling manner of using them for driving home his points. His literary skill is of an uncommonly high order. He knows the right use of words and the magical effect that expression has in solving life's complicated problems. Dr Sinha has not only played a useful part in public life as a legislator but he has also been an administrator. For more than five years he was a member of the Bihar and Orissa Executive Council and was the first Indian to hold the portfolio of Finance in any provincial government. Not even the most advanced leftist could have brought to bear upon his work greater independence. His minute of dissent on the working of the Montagu-Chelmsford constitution shows that even as a member of Government he never forgot even for a moment that he was an Indian nationalist whose duty was to advance his country's interests. And it is a well known fact that his independence was not



Dr. S. Sinha's Residence "Radha Bhawan" at Solan (near Simla)

liked by his official colleagues, as he was often a source of embarrassment to them.

He founded in July, 1900, the "Kayastha Samachar", which (in 1903) became the "Hindustan Review". He was the founder of the "Indian People", which has now become the chief daily in these provinces, the *Leader*. Throughout his life he has been a frequent contributor to the Indian press. And no professional journalist can excel his qualities which make a good journalist—knowledge of men and affairs, felicity of expression, wit, humour, sarcasm, balanced judgment, clarity in judging men, scrupulous regard for truth and fair dealing, and deep faith in normal values. He can, without exaggeration, be described as one of India's foremost journalists.

For more than eight years he had been the Vice-Chancellor of the University of Patna, and there can be no doubt that he has handled delicate situations in that University with tact and wisdom. Respected alike by his colleagues and students, he has rendered a good account of himself as its head. Patna was surely fortunate in having a Vice-Chancellor of his varied accomplishments. In 1937, the Allahabad University honoured him on the occasion of its Golden Jubilee by an honorary degree of Doctor of Literature. In doing so, it honoured itself.

Dr. Sinha's intellectual gifts are of a very high order. While his intellectual gifts are worthy of admiration, the moral qualities which accompany that intellect and which enable it to be of use to the community, deserve even greater commendation. For Dr. Sinha is essentially a good man. He is one of God's gentlemen. You will never hear him say an unkindly thing about any one. You will never hear him think uncharitably of others. And you will never hear him talk in private conversation of himself or of his own achievements. Modest, unassuming, witty and humorous, Dr. Sinha has a deep understanding of human nature, and his tolerant mind enables him to sympathise with all and to give his support to all good causes. His private charities have been numerous. There is hardly a book on literature, philosophy, history, travel, or biography worth reading which he has not read. A book-lover all his life he has given his library, one of the most magnificent in India, to the city of Patna for public use, and he sees to it that this library which he has gifted to the public is maintained in a state of efficiency.

It will need all the skill of a literary artist to describe the traits which distinguish Dr. Sinha as a conversationalist. With the exception perhaps of Dr. (Mrs) Sarojini Naidu, there is perhaps no one to equal him in the art of conversation. He can spread cheerfulness around him; he likes to be surrounded by

cheerful people, and if you come depressed to one of his dinners you may be sure that you will go back home with a different outlook of life. He has so much to tell you about all things in general and you have so much to learn from him: His houses both at Patna and at Allahabad are always full of guests. Indeed one of the hotel keepers at Patna is reported to have said jocularly that his hotel could not flourish because he had a rival in Dr Sinha.

Dr Sinha can look back to the years that he has lived with pride. May God spare him for his country and friends for long years to come !

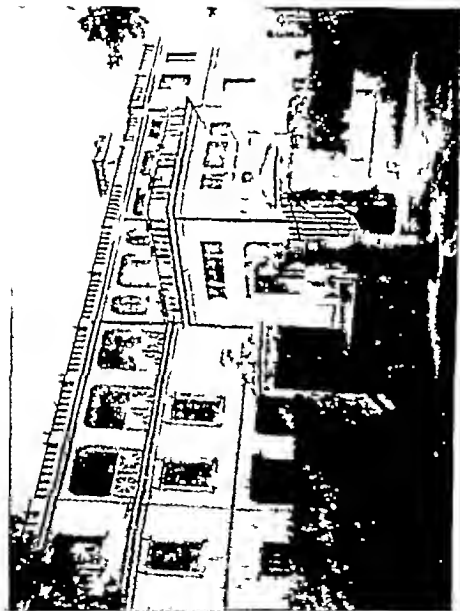



Fig. 1. School building, built in 1924, Op. No. 1024

DR. SACHCHIDANANDA SINHA AND THE INDIAN LIBRARY MOVEMENT

By

KHAN BAHADUR K. M. ASADULLAH

THERS may be interested in Dr. Sinha or his activities as an administrator, an educationist, a lawyer, or a politician, but for a Librarian, Dr. Sinha is to be studied as a lover of books and promoter of library movement in the country. Many persons do collect books, and even possess libraries ; but in so many cases these only serve as appendages to their greatness. With Dr. Sinha, however, the fondness for, and the collecting of, books has been an altogether different matter. He, as a litterateur, a journalist, a politician, and a lawyer could not do without books, and as such did collect a fairly big library which would be a credit to any lover of books, or possessor of a private library. Its number ran into thousands of volumes. Dr. Sinha, as a selfless person, didn't want to restrict the use of such a valuable collection to himself alone, but very wisely looked into the far distant future and discovered a much better and wider use for them. He endowed the entire collection, which at that time comprised of about ten thousand volumes, to found the Sinha Library, in conjunction with the Radhika Sinha Institute (in memory of his deceased wife) as far back as twenty years. There could not have been envisaged a better use for this collection. But it should not mean that Dr. Sinha's interest in books or book-collecting ended there. He is still the proud possessor of a fairly large private collection which is intended for his own daily use, for a man of his activities cannot do without books, as his habit of study is not on the decline.

Dr. Sinha did not stop with the endowing of his collection of books for the founding of the well-known Sinha Library of Patna (the collection was valued at about one lac of rupees) ; but gave in cash two sums amounting to fifty thousand rupees for the upkeep of the said library. His wife, in whose memory the above-named Institute was founded, endowed another sum of fifty thousand rupees, which enabled Doctor Sinha to have the beautiful buildings of both the Institute and the Library built with that money. Besides the library which provides a big Reading Room, the Institute provides a big Hall, which is used for holding meetings and other public functions. The Reading Room provides both Indian and foreign journals along with newspapers, of which the number goes upto one hundred. The library has facilities not only for reading books on the spot, but, under certain conditions, they are lent out to persons wishing to take them out of the library. The utility of the library is on the increase day by day.

The Institute and the Library are under the management of a representative Board of Trustees with H E the Governor of Bihar as its Patron. The Government also provides financial help yet for a "growing organism" like a library more money is required. The first Librarian of the Sinha Library was deputed to the Imperial Library for getting training in modern methods of the upkeep of libraries which is a clear proof of the fact that those responsible for the management of the library are not oblivious of their responsibilities in any way, and have always the good of the library at heart.

This is enough to prove the great interest of Dr Sinha in the advancement of the library movement of the country if proof was needed in this respect. If our country is to make progress educationally and otherwise, many more libraries like the Sinha Library will have to be founded either by Government or we shall have to wait for more Sinhas.

Dr Sinha's interest in furthering the library movement will also be evident from certain other of his doings as described below.

At the request of the writer of this note Dr Sinha promised to arrange for the holding of a session of the Library Conference at Patna and its fulfilment came in 1940 when mainly through his efforts as Vice-Chancellor of the Patna University, the Indian Library Association was invited to hold the fourth All India Library Conference at Patna in 1940. His personal interest in this connection could be discerned from the fact that he himself looked into all the details of the arrangements, which factor was mostly responsible for the great success of the said Conference which was presided over by Mr John Sargent, now Educational Advisor to the Government of India. It was the unanimous verdict of all who attended that memorable session of the Conference that no Conference till then did achieve such a success as the Patna Conference did.

It was in this connection that the writer of this article had occasion not only to see the Sinha Library and its working in all its details but had also the honour and pleasure of being a personal guest of Dr Sinha. This afforded good opportunity to see and study Dr Sinha at close quarters. His hospitality is not to be easily forgotten if one is lucky enough to enjoy that privilege. His regular habits, his punctuality, his genial temperament, and his pleasing manners are object lessons for so many of us, especially the regularity of habits and punctuality which are wanting in most of the modern Indian youngmen. They may also take a lesson from this "Over-seventy-year-old youngman" how to achieve one's objectives or how to make a success of one's life. Industry and diligence are two characteristics which still guide him in his

undertakings and which have played no mean part in attaining for Dr. Sinha, the position that he holds to-day in the literary and academic world.


Whatever other improvements he might have been responsible for introducing in the University during his tenure of office as Vice-Chancellor, from August, 1936 to December, 1944, the University Library had due share of his attention. On the post of the Assistant Librarian, University Library falling vacant, the Librarian of Sinha Library, who had previously been trained in modern library methods, was appointed to that post, and later, the much needed improvement *viz.* transferring the charge of the library from an honorary Librarian to the person who actually runs the library was introduced, with the result that the University Library is now in the hands of a trained and qualified Librarian, as is the case with practically all other University libraries. Since the appointment of the said Librarian, a comprehensive scheme for the re-organisation of the University Library has been framed, which includes the framing of suitable and necessary rules; laying down the functions and duties of the Librarian and the staff; the re-classifying and re-cataloguing of the library etc. The stock-taking of the library has also been done, and the preparation of a shelf list for checking the stock in future is in contemplation. Other less important improvements have either been introduced or are under consideration to be introduced. But whatever improvements in this connection be introduced, the credit for those must go to the then Vice-Chancellor, for it was his inspiring personality that was responsible for infusing enthusiasm in those who were working under him.

Dr. Sinha was also connected with the administration of the premier library of India, the Imperial Library, Calcutta, as a member of its Council. This body, was reconstituted by the Government of India in 1929, and according to the revised constitution, the Council was to have on it representatives of Provincial Governments, besides those of Bengal and the University of Calcutta. Dr. Sinha was nominated a member of the first reconstituted Council of the Imperial Library in 1929, and barring a gap of one term (1932 to 1935) he continued to serve on the said Council upto August, 1944. Dr. Sinha's connection with this premier library extending over a period of twelve years is proof enough of the deep interest that he always displayed in the affairs of the library. He is the only person who worked for such a long period on the Council and this could not have been so if his presence on the Council would have been of little use. His advice on matters pertaining to the library, and his interest in its progress were appreciated by all connected with this institution, and this is why he was held in great esteem both by the Chairman and his colleagues.

SACHCHIDANANDA SINHA

By

THE HON'BLE MR. HUSAIN IMAM

 R. Sachchidananda Sinha's versatility of genius and many-sided merits, make it no easy task for his admirer to put a mark of appreciation at any one point. Bihar justly prides on this illustrious son of hers who combines in himself two outstanding qualities—that of an excellent litterateur and a most sociable personage. If I were asked to point out an individual Biharee who could represent the best of Bihar I would unhesitatingly name Sachchidananda Sinha. Like the great and sacred Sangam he is all gold, ancient and glittering, in as much as he stands for the Mother land's sublime social order and at the same time he is all silver, sterling and brilliant with the modernity that enhances the beauties of his sociability with its superb linings. He has had the enviable privilege of spending the best part of his life in that society which did not know communalism with its hateful and dreadful traits. No wonder if he remained unspoiled by his contacts with the present day strifes. He wonderfully manages to keep to his old moorings of essentially Indian culture, as the centre and pivot of the Hindu Muslim unity in Bihar.


Dr Sinha can feel no difficulty in living up to this traditional position, as his mastery of the language of unity namely, Urdu—the sacred heritage of Hindu-Muslim culture—is combined with that strength of character which makes it easy for him to give expression to his views regardless of anything but truth only. If one would care to scan the pages of the *Hindustan Review* of the first decade of this century, he will find ample evidences of Dr Sinha's mastery of Persian and Urdu literatures both in prose and poetry.

An outstanding personality like Dr Sinha is a great asset to the country of his birth and his numerous friends and admirers will join in the chorus to wish him long life of useful public activities.

DR. SACHCHIDANANDA SINHA . A REMINISCENCE.

By

MR. K. S. VENKATARAMANI

 R. S. Sinha is my first friend in North India. It was the first decade of this century—the budding flower was not yet frosted by the two great world wars. Europe lived in contentment and peace, fed sumptuously on the sweated toil of Asia and Africa, particularly India.

In India, those were the spacious days of Lord Curzon who ruled us with relentless energy like the great Mogul. His grand viceroyalty was abruptly drawing to a close as the result of a tussle with Lord Kitchner. George Harvey, the influential editor of the *North American Review* wrote in his journal a generous appreciation of Lord Curzon's viceroyalty, as a token of grateful friendship. It was reprinted in almost all the Indian papers, with indignant comments by the Nationalist press.

In this momentous period, I was an aspiring student, fretting with idealistic urges of Indian renaissance, at the Madras Christian College in the first year class. In the true Curzonian manner, I was also verbose and rhetorical by word and pen at every turn of political events. I remembered the partition of Bengal in my fervent patriotic high school days. The partition of Bengal gave birth not only to Indian nationalism, but also to my maiden speech largely undelivered. Like a patriotic juvenile I was choked with emotion at the high-handedness of Lord Curzon, and could not deliver my speech. Still the hastily summoned meeting of boys was nevertheless a success, thanks to the choice of pilferings I made from *Bandemataram*, then edited by Sri Aurobindo.

How could I think, with such traditions of public work, to allow to go unchallenged George Harvey's panegyric of Curzon's viceroyalty. I took my pen, dipped in the acid prose of Junius and Burke, in whom I then specialised, wrote a rejoinder at white heat on 'George Harvey and Lord Curzon' and sent it to the *Hindustan Review* which my Students' Home Reading Room subscribed for. If published, what a joy, I dreamed—my fellows would have a taste of the new comer.

The *Hindustan Review* was got up sumptuously in dainty feather-weight paper in the grand style usually associated with Dr Sinha. I posted the manuscript to the *Hindustan Review* before the ink was dry.

The postman brought me the next fortnight a lucky packet which contained a copy of the *Hindustan Review*. It was the Special December number and unusually bulky. My article covered three pages of triumphant juvenalia in feather-weight paper. The print looked like immortal script on marble. My joy knew no bounds—I was in Heaven and had a taste of the celestial.

I soon fell into a meditative trance and prayed for the long life and prosperity of Dr Sinha now nearly forty years ago. I am grateful to Providence that I now enjoy the privilege of commemorating Dr Sinha's seventy fifth birthday. I always bow my head in gratitude at the mention of his name.

Dr Sinha's services to Indian public life and journalism are great and inestimable. His is the work of a pioneer with all the sterling qualities of a pioneer. As a politician legislator statesman editor journalist and public worker his is a life of crowded activities and achievements spread over a long period of now more than fifty years. I wish him a still longer lease of life and service.

THE GRAND OLD MAN OF BIHAR

By

DR. H. C. MOOKERJEE

BORN in November, 1871, Dr. Sachchidananda Sinha joined the Middle Temple in 1890 and was called to the Bar in 1893, in which year he commenced his practice at the Calcutta High Court whence he transferred his activities to Allahabad three years later. It was after a successful career as a lawyer for two decades here that he made Patna his home where too he created a unique reputation for himself as an advocate amassing in the course of this period an immense fortune. The money he earned he knew how to use. Besides the very large sums he bestowed as private charity, he enriched Patna by his gift of a great public library and a town hall.

II

It was as a young student of law that Dr. Sinha was advised not to confine his studies to professional books only, but to acquire culture in its broadest sense by familiarising himself with the best specimens of literature. That this is not generally the case with the professional man, even in the West where one would expect another and a different state of things, is proved by what Dr. Herman Finer has observed, on page 455 of the first volume of his well-known book, "The Theory and Practice of Modern Government," where he says that "people are often shocked when they observe for the first time" that many capable and, from the pecuniary point of view, successful "medical practitioners, engineers, clergymen, solicitors, bank managers, lawyers," etc., are "quite uneducated outside the narrow sphere of their own activities."

That unlike the majority of such men, including advocates, Dr. Sinha did not allow himself to become pre-occupied with his profession to the exclusion of other interests, is abundantly evident from the "Selections from his Writings and Speeches," the second edition of which has been recently published by Messrs. Thacker, Spink & Co, Calcutta, as well as from the last sentence of a speech he delivered at Patna on the 3rd December, 1937, where, at a meeting presided over by the Chief Justice of the Patna High Court, quoting Lord Macmillan, a distinguished member of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, he said :

It is essential that the lawyer should be steeped in literature and keep his mind constantly refreshed and renewed by contact with the great thinkers of the past. So only can he attain true eminence.'

We shall presently see the results of the observance of this rule in the case of Dr Sinha

III

That Dr Sinha appreciates the value of English and is in favour of its study by Indians desirous of keeping abreast of the latest developments in philosophy, economics literature, science art, etc. is proved by what he said about its utility in the Convocation address delivered by him at the Nagpur University in December 1937. Master of a vigorous and clear style in English with an enviable command over a large and expressive vocabulary Dr Sinha has not, in spite of all his admiration for it been content to confine his studies to books written in this language only.

Many of the pieces included in the volume referred to above contain verses from Persian translated into flexible English verse in which unlike ordinary translations the spirit of the original is retained unimpaired. We have the evidence of Dr Rajendra Prasad an old friend of his who has contributed a personal note that Dr Sinha has a deep and abiding interest in Hindi and Urdu which is proved by the fact that their masterpieces occupy an honoured position in an open bookcase near his bed to which he turns again and again for relaxation.

But his appreciation and admiration, deep as they are for Hindi and Urdu literature have not blinded Dr Sinha to their limitations as regards their utility as *lingua franca*. That the view he holds as regards their utility is proved by the fact that the Hindustani Academy elected him its President in its third session which met at Allahabad early in January 1936. It is more than probable that he was asked to occupy this onerous position as the organisers were aware that the views he holds as regards the suitability of Hindustani for popular use would find acceptance from the champions of both Hindi and Urdu, as it was well known that he is an admirer of the two vernaculars on which Hindustani is based and that if he advocated the popularisation of Hindustani for a definite purpose it was not because he had any special axe of his own to grind.

Dr. Sinha's recognition of the difficulties created by lovers of Hindi and Urdu to the emergence of Hindustani was well put when, quoting Sir William Marris, he said :

"The ideal would be for every writer in Hindi to write as if he wished to find Muslim readers and *vice versa*. If for example, Urdu writers import into current literature highly artificial Arabic phrases, or if Hindi authors strain themselves to load their vocabulary with heavy elements of Sanskrit, then they are both committing a two-fold misdemeanour. In the first place, they are deliberately pulling themselves and their readers a step further away from the other half of the community. That, no doubt, is an offence against civic relations rather than literature. But in the process, they are also making their books incomprehensible to the average man."

IV

It is the breadth of his culture which has made Dr. Sinha take interest in Indian music and the Ayurveda system of medical treatment, on which he has set forth his views. This same factor had also the effect of not only making him a believer in social reform but also a pioneer of it in two of its aspects in Bihar at a time when heterodoxy entailed heavy pains and penalties. After his return from England, he had to face the hostility of the Kayastha community of which he is a member; but he remained firm. Not content with merely maintaining that it was not wrong to cross the ocean, he married a Kayastha lady of a distinguished family of Lahore, but belonging to a different sub-section—a thing unheard of in those days. Once again, he horrified orthodoxy but refused to yield. The reasonableness of his position coupled with his firmness in sticking to his convictions led to the result that today what at one time had been considered revolutionary has found acceptance and formal sanction from the Kayastha community.

In 1920, Dr. Sinha supported the motion of Mr. V. J. Patel at a meeting of the Imperial Legislative Council for referring his Hindu Marriage Validity Bill to a Select Committee. It may be recollected that this measure which aimed at legalising marriages between so-called higher and lower social groups inside the Hindu fold, was strenuously opposed by orthodox Hindu members of the Council. It was in the course of the speech delivered on this occasion that he pointed out the inconsistency of those people who demanded political concessions from Britain but, at the same time, were opposed to the granting of social concessions to their own people. While he did not hesitate to state that Bihar and Orissa which he was representing were against the proposed piece of legislation and that

the support he was giving was in his personal capacity Dr Sinha stated that he was doing so as he believed that it is the bounden duty of every human being to try to improve his conditions and surroundings, whether political or social or moral, and to advance further and further to higher ideals

Dr Sinha lived to see the day when he came to be recognised as an All India leader of his community and was accorded the honour of being elected the President of the All India Kayastha Conference at its thirty fifth session which met at Delhi in 1929. In the Presidential address he delivered at this gathering, he not only dealt with the special problems of his community but pointed out that Indians must depend not on an alien administration but on themselves for the removal of social defects. Drawing attention to the necessity of the removal of purdah and similar disabilities he pleaded for the fusion of the subsections of his community by marriage as a satisfactory method for the establishment of a larger unit, the merging of such units in their turn leading ultimately to the development of a United India. Apparently here Dr Sinha was thinking on lines similar to those of Jawaharlal who in his *Autobiography* has thrown out the suggestion of the biological solution of communalism.

One particular aspect of Dr Sinha's zeal as a social reformer in the matter of raising the status of Indian women is found in the emphasis he has laid on their education. In the Presidential address delivered by him at the Delhi All India Kayastha Conference, he drew the attention of his hearers to the imperative necessity of the physical and intellectual emancipation of our women. Referring to the same theme in his Convocation address at the Nagpur University in December, 1937 he stressed the importance of educating our women on account of the very important part they must play in giving a definite shape to our home life.

V

Dr Sinha's interest in the sphere of 'education is not however, confined to merely pointing out its necessity for women only. Recognising its importance in developing India's economic and political possibilities he has devoted himself to its popularisation in his own province in all its stages—primary, secondary collegiate and post-graduate. When he was elected President of the Conference of the Secondary School Teachers' Conference, Bihar in February 1941 he while dealing with the problems of secondary education in his own province and pointing out the disabilities from which it suffered did not fail to refer to the wider aspects of education. His interest in education and the value of the suggestions he had to offer on its problems found recognition when he was requested to deliver the Convocation address of the Lucknow University in 1935.

This address is remarkable for the frankness with which Dr. Sinha gave expression to his views on a matter, the Act of 1935, which at that time was exercising the mind of the Indian public greatly. After showing that English education had been the most important factor in giving rise to the Indian demand for political freedom, he stated that it was wisdom to combine enthusiasm and idealism with realism in its pursuit, he regretted the ignoring of the views of even Indian Moderates like H. H. the Aga Khan and Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru when the Government of India Act, 1935, was passed, condemning, like the genuine nationalist that he is, "the manifold multitudinous and complete" safeguards vested under it in the Governor-General and the Provincial Governors. At the same time, he did not fail to point out that, in his view, it was desirable that Indians should work in such a way as to enlarge their powers.

Referring to the greatest weakness in our public life, communalism, Dr. Sinha drew the pointed attention of his hearers to the responsibility of the British administration for its recognition in legislative measures and showed what educated men and women could do for its removal. The concluding portion of this address is an eloquent exhortation to the alumni, new and old, to utilise the education they had received for the benefit of our motherland, a duty as important in his eyes as the earning of a living or the acquiring of a competence.

VI

The Bihar Government, recognising his interest in education and desirous of utilising his abilities for the spread of higher education in that province, appointed Dr. Sinha Vice-Chancellor of the Patna University in 1936. So great was the progress made under his leadership that he was re-appointed in 1939 and again in 1941 and 1943. The encouragement given by him to higher education has led to the foundation of several new colleges in various towns while a noteworthy departure is the establishment of research scholarships in this centre of learning. It now remains for him to convert the Patna University from an examining to a teaching body with an adequate and qualified staff of teachers directing their students and engaging themselves in research work.

The authorities of the Allahabad University showed their appreciation of the valuable services rendered by Dr. Sinha to the cause of education as well as his services as a public man by conferring the honorary degree of Doctor of Literature on him in 1937. This synchronised with an invitation to address the Convocation of the Nagpur University the same year.

This address is worth reading, as here Dr Sinha proved the fallacy of the popularly held opinion that the extension of technological studies or the replacement of University by technical education would solve the unemployment problem. The glowing tribute he paid to University education and his reasons for doing so would warm the heart of any University man. The peroration in which he asked the new graduates to see visions and to dream dreams" as regards the future honourable position of India in the comity of nations is remarkable for its idealism and the powerful appeal it must have made to his hearers, young and old.

VII

Journalism attracted Dr Sinha from almost the beginning of his career. He founded the 'Kayastha Samachar' about 1899 when he was practising at Allahabad. The name of the periodical was changed to "Hindustan Review" in 1903. He has been editing this journal continuously upto the present, except for an interval of five years when he was a member of the Executive Council of the Governor of Bihar and Orissa.

During the last 45 years this very ably conducted English monthly has provided a forum for the expression of all shades of opinion, political, economic, social and philosophical and continues to find a large circle of readers in and outside India. Probably the best tribute paid to the services rendered by the Hindustan Review was that from the pen of the late Mr W. T. Stead who in his Review of Reviews said:

The *Hindustan Review* is of special value as lifting the brain cap of India and letting us see the thoughts that are moving in her educated mind.

This labour of love has not only made heavy and continuous calls on the time and energy of a very busy and hard working man but has also made Dr Sinha responsible for large financial obligations for the maintenance of this periodical. The Amrita Bazar Patrika of Calcutta was referring to this fact when it said in an editorial:

'Mr Sachchidananda Sinha is a lawyer by profession and training, but a journalist by conviction and sympathies. The law has given him a fortune, while journalism has made him a prodigal. certainly journalism is Mr Sinha's hobby nor has it been a trade with him yielding the producer's surplus.'

That Dr Sinha has won recognition as a journalist is proved by the fact that at the first International Press Conference organised by the League of Nations in 1927

he was invited to represent the newspapers of India. We also find that he was invited by the profession to open the Press Exhibition at Allahabad in 1935, where the thought-provoking address he delivered showed how deep is his insight into those problems which specially pertain to Indian journalism. Still another proof of the esteem in which he is held by Indian journalists is afforded by the invitation extended to him in 1940 by the working journalists of his province to address them on the legal and other disabilities of journalism in India and the ideals which should guide them in their daily work.

VIII

As editor of the "Hindustan Review," Dr Sinha supplies regularly a thoughtful survey of the month which most of its readers regard as one of its most valuable features. From time to time he also contributes signed articles, some of which appear in his collected speeches and writings.

These cover a variety of subjects proving the diversity of his interests. For instance, an appreciation of Sir George Grierson, well known as an authority on linguistics, stands cheek by jowl with an article on "Dogmatism and Sufism in Islam." An appreciation of Sir Mirza Ismail, the successful administrator of Mysore, followed by a thoughtful and illuminating review of Dr Ambedkar's book on Pakistan, in which, basing his conclusions on the facts and figures supplied by the author, Dr. Sinha shows the insuperable difficulties which stand in the way of implementing it.

Another noteworthy set of contributions are concerned with reviews of books on India from the pen of such Englishmen as are opposed to the conceding of larger political powers to Indians, an attitude greatly resented by Dr. Sinha. Attention may be called to the criticisms, strong and yet in perfect good taste, of books like Al Carhill's *Lost Dominion* and *Garden of Adonis*, and of Sir Michael O'Dwyer's *Memoirs*—books which are not ordinarily studied by the younger race as they deserve to be. The nationalism of the true Indian, however, is still more clearly manifested in his articles "The Alleged British Conquest of India" and "King Edward VII and India," in which he has displayed not only intimate knowledge and grasp of historical facts but also resentment with the position taken by Lord Curzon and King Edward VII that Indians are not fit to occupy responsible positions.

It would, however, be a mistake to suppose that Dr Sinha is incapable of gliding easily from "grave to gay," for many of his signed articles in the

'Hindustan Review' are humorous in character as for instance his survey, in prose and verse, of the Sapru Samuel Hoare controversy which appeared in 1932.

IX

This brings us to the question of the kindly and yet telling humour of which Dr Sinha is a perfect master. The curious thing is that those who come in contact with him casually would not dream that he possesses this rare gift of poking good natured fun at all including himself. This faculty of laughing at himself is shown in a very humorous contribution from his pen entitled 'The Woes of the Imperial Councillors, which appeared in the "Leader" of Allahabad in 1910. Equally witty and telling was the speech Dr Sinha delivered in the Bihar and Orissa Legislative Council in September 1934 while supporting a motion for the appointment of a Committee to examine the excise policy of the Government, thus proving the spontaneity of his humour. That advancing age has not dried up this rare gift is shown by the address on Bulls and Blunders he delivered at the Bihar Youngmen's Institute, Patna in 1940.

All this has been said merely to prove that Dr Sinha continues to retain a young and cheerful heart in a body no longer young. Many of his friends feel that the physical health, the intellectual alertness and the capacity for continuous hard work which characterize him are due not only to the regular life he has been leading but also to this attitude of his towards life.

X

No reference will be made in the present article to the services rendered by Dr Sachchidananda Sinha to the cause of Indian nationalism which are so varied and so valuable as to need a separate treatment. The only thing which should be observed in that connection is that, whether as a Congressman or since 1920 as a constitutionalist, he has always stood for the enlargement of India's political rights and that in doing so he has never departed from or compromised with the ideals which have always guided his activities as a public man.

The collected writings and speeches of Dr Sinha taken as a whole deal with such a large and interesting variety of subjects and are illustrated with such a wealth of facts gathered from sources not generally known to ordinary readers, and his arguments are strengthened by so many apt quotations from recognised authorities, that the contents of this volume are bound to appeal to readers of all tastes and opinions. It is also correct to state that few among the public men of India can claim to have participated in so many types of public work and to have



thrown so much light on our problems. This volume should, therefore, appeal equally to the Indian and to the non-Indian, desirous of acquainting himself with the attitude of the educated among us to such questions as have come up for discussion for the last three decades.

Sir C. Y. Chintamani, in his *Indian Politics Since the Mutiny*, was perhaps one of the first to refer to the present-day tendency to either ignore or belittle the valuable services in various directions rendered to India by the elder race of Indian public men. It is also undeniable that, carried away by their immediate preoccupations, Indians belonging to this *nil admirari* category are only too apt to overlook the difficulties they had to surmount, difficulties inherent in the small measure of political power we enjoyed formerly, as well as indifference of the Indian public to our social, economic and political problems. When we remember the work of these men, we are compelled to regard their detractors as pigmies compared with the giants whom they criticise so foolishly and so glibly,

Most of these men have passed away, so that today one may count them on one's fingers. Among the survivors we have today Messrs. Srinivasa Sastri, Sapru, Natesan and Malaviyaji and last, but not least, Dr. Sinha, the Grand Old Man of Bihar. Those of us who are younger than this noble band of unselfish Indian patriots but older than the present race of workers in the national cause and who are more familiar with the extent and value of the work they did, cannot but look with trepidation on their disappearance from the public life of India. Let us all hope and pray that they may be spared long to carry on their activities and to establish a tradition of devoted work from which there will be no departure now and hereafter.

XI

Dr. Sinha is one of the few survivors of the old race of Indian politicians who have served our country in various directions and various capacities.

Dr. Sinha has told us that when he was only seventeen, he attended the fourth session of the Congress held at Allahabad in 1893. He was associated with the Congress for nearly thirty years in various capacities. It was as a Congressman of the old school that he supported resolutions for the separation of judicial and executive functions in the Lucknow Congress of 1899 and the Lahore Congress of 1900. Elected twice to the Imperial Legislative Council, he pleaded for reduction in the military expenditure in 1910, followed it up next year by the request for an equitable adjustment between Britain and India of the expenditure

involved in maintaining the British section of the Indian Army and, in 1912 urged the throwing open of the commissioned ranks in the army to Indians now an accomplished fact under the stress of the present war

As Secretary of the Patna session of the Congress in 1912, Dr Sinha displayed unusual powers of organisation. Elected President of the Provincial Congress in 1912 Dr Sinha delivered a noteworthy speech in which he discussed the minimum political reforms likely to satisfy Indians the policy of repression adopted by the administration and the steps which in his opinion should be taken to meet it. After a searching criticism of the bureaucracy he made it absolutely clear that the goal was Home Rule for India and method for its attainment constitutional agitation which, in his view was a more practical method than passive resistance.

As a Congressman, Dr Sinha opposed the Seditious Meetings Bill in the Imperial Legislative Council in 1910 and 1911 in well-reasoned speeches and the Punjab Indemnity Bill in September 1919 under which officials who had dealt with the Punjab disorders were to enjoy immunity. In the course of the speeches delivered on the last of these occasions he pointed out that the passing of the Bill with the help of the Government bloc was not calculated 'to convince the people that the action of the Government was right specially as under one of its clauses the ordinary rule of evidence would be completely reversed. He referred in very strong terms to the humiliations imposed on Indians and enquired whether it was right for Government to pass legislation which would allow those guilty of objectionable conduct to escape the consequences of their acts

The same passion for the preservation of liberty was displayed once again long after he had ceased to be officially connected with the Congress in 1933 when he led the opposition in the Bihar and Orissa Legislative Council against the Public Safety Bill which sought to curtail the legitimate liberties of British Indian subjects. Reference has been made to these facts to show that whether as a Congressman or as a constitutionalist, Dr Sinha has always been consistent in maintaining a high and a courageous standard in his public utterances

XII

Though Dr Sinha's active participation with the Congress ended with the non-co-operation movement he did not cease to sympathise with it. With the adoption of responsive co-operation, Congressmen fought the elections in 1926 and captured a large number of seats all over India. At a banquet given by him after the general election of 1926 he referred to the 45 out of a total of 75 seats

captured by the Swarajists in the Bihar and Orissa Provincial Council and explained it as being "due to the fact that the Indian National Congress has a very strong hold upon the mass of the people in Bihar and Orissa", fortifying his opinion by a quotation from a book written by the English President of the Imperial Legislative Assembly.

Here Dr. Sinha felt no hesitation in referring to "the strenuous—I had said sinister—systematic and organised effort made by some very influential classes, of whom some are legally precluded from taking an active part in elections, to keep out of the (Provincial) Legislative Council the representatives of the educated community". Probably readers, like the hearers of Dr. Sinha, will experience no difficulty in identifying the people who made an unsuccessful effort at rigging the election.

Many of us have found fault with those nationalists who, like Dr. Sinha, found it difficult to remain inside the Congress after its official adoption of non-co-operation. In reply, it may be said that politicians and publicmen cannot, if they are conscientious and practical, be always expected to be consistent in the strictest sense of the term. If there is an honest difference of opinion, the dissentients may remain inside a political organisation and try to convert the majority to their way of thinking. This may be looked for only where the differences are on minor points. If, however, they are fundamental in nature, the dissentients have to walk out. If they do so, they can do only one of two things. They can either retire altogether from politics or, in association with like-minded people, continue to participate in the political work of the country in such ways as seem proper in their eyes. The Liberals and constitutionalists, among whom one would class Dr. Sachchidananda Sinha, chose the latter alternative.

Reviewing Sir C. Y. Chintamani's *Indian Politics Since the Mutiny*, published in 1937, Dr. Sinha replying to the author's argument that the history of the world does not supply a single instance where direct action such as non-co-operation or civil disobedience has given liberty to a subject nation, referred to Mahatma Gandhi's contention that constitutional agitation also has failed equally in the achievement of freedom. Dr. Sinha held that wisdom lies in allowing each party to adopt the technique, in which it believes, without condemning the methods of others, the more so because the aim of all is the same.

XIII

As a member of the Executive Council, Dr. Sinha appended a minute dated the 18th July, 1924, to the despatch of the Governor-in-Council of Bihar and

Orissa in response to the India Government's letter asking for the opinions of the various Provincial Governments on the working of the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms from 1921 to 1923. Here he differed from his non-Indian colleagues thus demonstrating the independence of his character. He also proved that he attached greater importance to the interests of his country than to the retention of official favour by refusing to fall in with their views.

In this minute he observed "India has started on the road to responsible government there is no half way house in the Provincial Government between the old system now superseded and full provincial autonomy, i.e., a constitutional Governor and a responsible Ministry.

The paper read by Dr Sinha before the East India Association, London on the 3rd October, 1927 was certainly the best indictment of Dyarchy presented before a predominantly British audience being a very frank exposition of its inherent defects based on his inside knowledge as one closely associated as an official with its working in the province of Bihar and Orissa.

The appointment of the Simon Commission called forth a statement from Dr Sinha in November, 1927, in which after explaining how the presence of the British acted as a wholesome and beneficial irritant to the growth of Indian Nationalism he pointed out the extremely limited influence the Indian Committees of the Central and Provincial legislatures associated with the Commission would have in shaping its views. He objected to the procedure adopted because 'the view underlying the appointment of the exclusive British Commission is that the question of the political progress of India is one to be determined by the British Parliament and the British Parliament alone, and in which therefore, India cannot expect to have lot or part.

Dr Sinha concluded that in the circumstances the only proper and dignified course open before a self-respecting people can be to have nothing to do (at any stage or in any form) with the Commission, precisely in the same way as the British Government has chosen to treat us by our complete exclusion from a body appointed to determine the future political destiny of our country."

Here we find how with all his love for constitutionalism, Dr Sinha no believer in direct action was goaded into advising his countrymen to adopt non-cooperation or at least a variant of it.

XIV

The plea of joint electorate issued through the press by Dr Sinha on the

publication of the Communal Award given by Ramsay Macdonald, the opposition he offered to the proposal of a Second Chamber in Bihar and Orissa in January, 1933, his constructive suggestions on the proposals of the White Paper in March, 1933, his memorandum submitted to the Joint Parliamentary Committee, London, in June, 1933, and the speech he delivered when opposing the Joint Parliamentary Committee's Report in the Bihar and Orissa Council in January, 1934, show that Dr. Sinha was unable to reconcile himself to any measure which promised anything less than complete autonomy to India. It was in the course of this speech that, after criticising the numerous safeguards and quoting a statement of Lord Salisbury condemning them, he observed

“You say it is self-government; I say it is ludicrous; it is self-government with a strait waist-coat. Self Government with safeguards is a meaningless term. As a young man I learnt from Tennyson that in the British Empire freedom broadens down from precedent to precedent. But as an old man I have lived to learn that in India, at any rate, freedom narrows down from safeguard to safeguard.”

XV

The dissatisfaction which Dr. Sinha, as an Indian politician, felt with the provisions of the Government of India Act, 1935, found expression in the Convocation Address he delivered at Lucknow on the 30th November, 1935, in the course of which he observed :

“The Conservative majority in the Parliament may have acted to the best of their judgement in framing the new constitution for India, but if in doing so they have not kept in view the essential condition of a successful constitution as emphasised by General Smuts—that ‘of securing for the scheme devised the free consent of the governed’—then, I fear, it may be but another case of their having sown the wind to reap the whirlwind.”

The old Congressman, not to speak of the practical politician, was clearly, discernible when, continuing, he said :

“Nor can wider political rights be bestowed upon one nation by another by way of a largesse or a *bukhshish*, for they can be secured only by contesting every inch of the ground with those in power.”

After a two months' holiday at the Simla Hills in the course of which he acquainted himself with the policy of the Central Government in the matter of

Indianisation of the Services he issued a statement in July, 1937, supported by irrefutable facts and figures from which he drew the conclusion that the repeated assurances given by the British Government as regards the increasing association of Indians in the higher branches of the administration were not always sincere. The Home Member had said that 'there is no use in being impatient. Under these circumstances Dr Sinha felt that Indians had the right to assume lack of sincerity on the part of the British Government when it persisted in importing foreigners for filling these posts specially in the presence of a sufficient number of qualified Indians. Obviously, Dr Sinha was giving expression here to views held very widely by Indians.

Like all Indian nationalists Dr Sinha is unable to bear with patience the superiority affected by the British official and in that connection observes

The assumption that these district officers and their superiors were ideal men—gods on earth as it were—is entirely wrong. They were but human beings, some venal some crack-headed some well intentioned some good some bad and some indifferent and many of them if not all, of the earth earthy. Their assumption of superiority was insufferable, and the old system is as well abolished.

The nationalism of Dr Sinha has however found expression in its most intelligent form in his reviews of Al Carhill's *Lost Dominion* and Sir Michael O'Dwyer's reminiscences published under the title of *India As I Knew It*."

After enumerating all the material benefits which have come to India on account of the British connection, incidentally pointing out that these were not one-sided as is often indirectly implied Dr Sinha says that perpetual subjection even to a well intentioned and efficient bureaucracy is too high a price to pay for all these advantages.'

'Thus will India continue a British dependency with fields watered by canals constructed and managed by the British with a flourishing trade controlled and exploited by the British, with impartial courts and tribunals but presided over by the British with secure frontiers well guarded by British soldiers and Indian sepoy (of course) under British officers and British Governors with education organized and run by British educationists, agriculture by British agriculturists, medical relief by British doctors and so on and so forth, all done by the British for the Indian till the crack of doom.

Referring to the implications of this state of affairs he observes

“What is the price you expect us to pay for what you have done for us ? Is it eternal submission to, and perpetual dependence on you ? Your own teaching is against this doctrine, and you cannot expect us to say : “Thank you for what you have done, and please carry on as before”. All the dangers you point out in the way of a free India may be true, though we believe they are grossly exaggeratedWe are determined to learn by our mistakes, by our failures, and by our sufferings...All will suffer, but then ultimately they will come out of the struggle for freedom purer and stronger, as gold passed in the crucible through the fire.”

The two most important arguments which have been urged by the British administration for its refusal to grant self-government to India viz., India's inability to defend herself against aggression and her communal differences have been answered very ably by Dr. Sinha.

Referring to the former he points out, in no uncertain language, that India has been prevented from taking such steps as are calculated to fit her for this purpose, and in that connection he observes

“No Indians are allowed even today to enter the Artillery or the Air Force and, till recently, none was taken as an officer in the Infantry and the Cavalry. We are told we have no military traditions, no power of leadership, no organising ability, and Heaven knows what besides. But are we never to develop these qualities, or is it that we are endowed with a double dose of original sin requiring us to remain till the crack of doom but the slaves of an alien bureaucracy ?”

Dr. Sinha's pronouncement of the political difficulties arising out of our communal differences is equally logical. Contending that they are neither insuperable nor insurmountable, he proves the unreasonableness of their implication as understood by the British when he says : “It would be far better to scrap even the Montford Reforms, and revert to the old system, in which the ‘paternal’ District Officer, ruled his district, treating the people like so many naughty children to be given cane and jam alternately.”

Dr. Sinha's position is that if Indians have defects peculiar to them, such as selfishness, superstition, religious fanaticism, so have the people of other countries including even Britain and if their presence in the case of the latter is no bar to the enjoyment of political and economic freedom, these should not prevent us from the enjoyment of the same privileges in our motherland While recognising our shortcomings, we will not allow ourselves to be deterred from pressing

onwards towards our goal, we will overcome these obstacles which stand in the way and shall surely evolve stable governments on democratic lines in the long run

It is not surprising to find that Dr Sinha, a disciple of Gokhale and believer in constitutional agitation as the most satisfactory technique for the realisation of India's political aspirations has been disappointed again and again by the unsympathetic attitude of the British administration to the extent that after quoting Prof Lowell's well known maxim that the foundation of Government is faith not reason he found himself compelled to observe that rightly or wrongly, India has lost faith in the British Government which is always pointing out the foolishness of getting impatient at the slow rate of our political advancement. In that connection he repeats what is felt by many men of his way of thinking even today when their last efforts to end the present political deadlock are being frustrated by the obstinacy of the British Government, its agents and nominees

I wish that the Government of India realised the consequences of their unwise and unjust policy. It is not for nothing that extremism has entered through the main door while moderation is being driven out through the window

DR. SACHCHIDANANDA SINHA : A PERSONAL IMPRESSION

By

MR. K. G. SAIYIDAIN

IT seems something of a presumption for me to write an appreciation of Dr. Sachchidananda Sinha, as I cannot claim the privilege of a long acquaintance with him. He is senior to me by two generations and his name had been public property as far back as my memory can serve me. There is, however, one advantage that I can claim. While friends and acquaintances of long standing have the temptation and privilege to be either unduly critical or unduly flattering, any one in a position like mine is likely to take a more detached and balanced view

I do not, however, propose to take any "view", as that somewhat pretentious historical function is sure to be taken by many others more qualified to do so. I shall confine myself to giving a brief impression of Dr. Sinha as he has struck me—namely, as a man of great culture and of arresting personality.

I first came into contact with Dr. Sinha a few years ago as a member of the Bihar Educational Re-organisation Committee and of the Bihar Hindustani Committee. He was a distinguished member of both the Committees and, whoever might be the *de jure* Chairman, he was always the *de facto* Chairman, guiding the deliberations with his mature judgment, his wide experience of men and affairs and his good-humoured and disarmingly courteous way of brow-beating opposition. Both the Committees were composed of rather heterogenous elements and some of the members had a certain weakness for raising fundamental issues which, to tell the truth, had been settled as far back as the days of Plato and Aristotle. We had limited time at our disposal; some of us had other work to go back to and the discussion of fundamentals is apt to be rather contemptuous of time. So an effective way out of the difficulty that suggested itself to us was to go over to Dr. Sinha's house and discuss the Agenda with him informally, eliciting his point of view and giving him our own. This done, the rest was plain sailing. Dr. Sinha would take up the cudgels on behalf of the agreed point of view and the work would proceed merrily on, inspite of certain colleagues whom I may call the "fundamentalists".

Another point that has impressed me about Dr Sinha is the breadth of his cultural and intellectual interests. The acid test of culture, I think is a freedom from all kinds of narrowness which, in its essence implies a preference for the small and the trivial over what is big and significant. Dr Sinha has been brought up in a cultural tradition which has borrowed large-heartedly from the various cultural streams that have enriched Indian life—the Hindu the Muslim and the Western and unlike many of his distinguished but really unfortunate contemporaries he has not tried to 'liberate' himself from these wider influences. He has a 'progressive' and 'forward' outlook he is not a revivalist who would reject the gifts of later history and hearken back to a distant past as the only source of his inspiration and the only centre of his loyalty. That is why for example he has a due and lively appreciation of the valuable contributions made by Urdu and Persian literatures and he joins issue with those who seek to 'purify' the Hindustani language of Arabic and Persian words 'because they are of foreign origin'. Culturally that policy and outlook would be suicidal, because the enrichment of a language is possible, not through a purge which makes it anaemic but by welcoming generously all the words that would harmonise with the genius of the language. Similarly he is up in arms against those who would as a retaliatory measure against the Sanskrit revivalists, introduce unfamiliar and unnecessary Persian and Arabic words in their speech and writing without caring whether they were suitable or generally understood.

I have given this example of his attitude to the language problem just to indicate the quality of his cultural outlook. I think the same breadth and catholicity characterises his reactions to other problems. His personal life too has the same spaciousness—his house is palatial his hospitality is most generous his private library has more books on food and drinks alone than I have seen anywhere else. This is an interesting side-light on his character as in these days of rush and hurry, busy and well known public men are often unable to find time even to eat their meals in peace, much less to study the art of good living in which—I understand—the question of food plays an important part. But Dr Sinha's conception of the good life²⁷ is too comprehensive to despise like the ascetic—anything that makes for the full enjoyment of life, whether on the intellectual the aesthetic, the practical or the gastronomical plane.

I have sometimes a haunting feeling that his is a type which the stress of modern conditions and the growing conflicts and tensions of life in India are making scarce if not extinct. And that would indeed be a great pity from the cultural as well as the intellectual point of view. He is certainly one of the "last of the great barons".

SACHCHIDANANDA SINHA: A STUDY.

By

MR. M. S. M. SHARMA.

WHAT ardent nationalist—Mazharul Haque, who had moved with him intimately for well nigh half a century—once told me that Sachchidananda Sinha had at least half a dozen merits, each of which by itself was alone sufficient to raise him to the pedestal of greatness he had risen to. Sachchidananda Sinha, the creator of Modern Bihar, is a journalist of outstanding merit, a first-rate politician, a successful administrator, an elderly statesman, an eminent advocate, a perfect host, and a number of other things. He is a pillar of Indian journalism, but belongs to the older type of journalists who (like the late Mr. Spender of the “The Westminster Gazette”) are convinced of the spiritual and exalted mission of the editorial article, in preference to news, for moulding public opinion.

II

Sachchidananda Sinha's personality is writ large in every page of his great monthly magazine which had long moulded the opinions and aspirations of Young India. It is, of course, true that not all the articles that appear in that excellent Review are Sinha's own; but his impress is visible in almost every one of them; for unlike some other editors of magazines or reviews, Sinha is not content to let his contributor choose his own subject. He has a definite mission, and his “Hindustan Review” has a definite place, as an instrument for the expression of his cherished ideals. Many of the public men of India today owed their interest in a career of public service to this excellent magazine. It must not be supposed, however, that Sinha, because he has a strong personality, is intolerant of criticism, or closes his journal's columns against those who have an opposite view. Assuredly he is not an intolerant person. If he advocates a cause, he takes good care to steer clear of personal attacks and personal prejudices, thus making it impossible for the opponent to give a convincing reply.

And, true to its name, The Hindustan Review embraces all India in its scope and survey. Its contributors are drawn from all provinces alike. Every conceivable subject of paramount interest to the Indian community is discussed threadbare by highly qualified writers in its columns. The Review, moreover, reveals to us Sinha in an essential light—as a vivacious man, who manages to keep his listeners

or readers interested, which is reflected in the pages of *The Hindustan Review* also. Dullness is never encouraged although it may be very learned. If a particular essay is not going to interest the average reader, it is not worth publishing. Unlike Lord Northcliffe, Sachchidananda Sinha is not afraid of popular frowns, but (like that famous journalist) he believes in giving the reader what the editor thinks his reader ought to want. But the difference is essentially this. Northcliffe's services to Journalism were for things of the moment. Sinha's, on the other hand, are intended to be more enduring. One thing must be accepted—that no student of Indian affairs can afford to miss the files of *The Hindustan Review*. Sinha has not only guarded his Review from provincialism, but also saved from communalism. "The Hindustan Review is also a record of the glorious attempts at unifying the two great communities. For many a long year, this Review had inspired many a partisan in this connection. But Sinha's contribution to the solution of the Hindu Muslim problem had been by no means confined to *The Hindustan Review*. He was the power behind several other journals and had inspired many classic pleas for communal unity in the land. Sinha's belief in the possibilities of Hindu Muslim unity are not mere theories. With him it is religious conviction, in connection with which I should like to relate an anecdote to show his genuine desire to promote Hindu Muslim unity in the land.

The All India Hindu Mahasabha Conference was held in Patna in April, 1927. Dr. B. S. Moonje presided over the deliberations. Lala Lajpat Rai was present as a delegate. He was the guest of Sachchidananda Sinha. The presidential address was to have been delivered at 1 o'clock in the afternoon. But advance copies had been available to a section of the press and to the leaders of the Hindu Mahasabha. Lajpat Rai had got one, and at lunch discussed or read the address. A paragraph jarred on Sinha's ears. He, therefore, asked Lalaji to read that portion once again. Lalaji complied. On hearing it, Sinha at once shot forth "It is all right for Dr. Moonje to seek to protect Hindu interests but should he be needlessly offensive to the Muslims? No, of course not," replied Lalaji, "but the offence emanated from the other side. This he said to support Dr. Moonje. Perhaps" retorted Sinha "no noise was ever made unless two hands clapped. One could never make noise however much he waved it in the air. That was a clincher. So the matter was discussed for some minutes and it was ultimately decided to advise Dr. Moonje to delete the portions objected to. Lalaji was put into a car, and despatched post haste to the Conference pandal. The thing was done accordingly but it devolved upon me later to retelegraph to all the clients of the Associated Press of India to delete the portion referred to above. In the meanwhile, I wanted to give the readers a scoop as to

how and why the passage had to be deleted. I, therefore, approached Sinha. Of course, I had the interview asked for, but with the stipulation that it ought not to see the light of day. "You see," argued Sinha, "the whole purpose of the interference will be lost, if you give out my coming into it." The story has a sequel. I repeated it a few days afterwards to my old friend and chief, Mr. Mazharul Haque, who replied: "I expected nothing less from Sachita (Mr. Haque always called him thus). He has lived up to his great traditions, and high reputation." This little incident is illustrative rather than exhaustive of Sachchidananda Sinha's sincere attempts to establish Hindu Muslim unity in the country

III

Whatever his faults, Sachchidananda Sinha is not given to what many a public man even today believes to be the harmless oblivion of the respect due to the members of the fourth state. While yet the votaries of the press in the rest of India had to fight the inferiority complex forced upon them by beyond-control circumstances, they of the United Provinces and Bihar had already built up a status for themselves as early as the first decade of the present century. This was mainly due to the fact that Sinha—one of the tallest amongst them—was never afraid of owning in public that he himself was a journalist. Although an eminent advocate, and a first-class politician, he takes pride in the fact that he is an editor and a journalist. His dealing with the less fortunate in the profession is not of patronage. I remember with pride even today how he introduced me to a fellow-member of the Government of Bihar and Orissa. I was unemployed then, but it did not stand in the way of Sinha's introducing me to his Civilian colleague, as a "fellow journalist of mine." This attitude corrected the obvious short-sightedness of the Civilian eye. He is almost the only man whose mission may be said to be to give an opportunity to the uninitiated, and to train them to the profession of journalism. Nor is his self-imposed task confined to Bihar. It is almost a truism today that, whenever the editorship, or any other responsible position, in any North Indian newspaper falls vacant, the employer invariably approaches Sinha to choose or suggest a suitable person for the vacancy.

The quality and quantity of Sinha's daily output are truly amazing. One often wonders how he finds the time therefor, in the midst of his multifarious engagements. His writings rarely mislead the reader. He is never ambiguous. Even his satire has always a human background. It is employed to build and not to destroy. In more senses than one, Sinha is a genuine publicist. He is a lover of his craft; he sees dignity in his work as a journalist. Although his personality is writ large

in every page of his excellent Review, he hardly ever thinks of his Review as a pulpit and of himself as the bearer of a message, its pages or columns are devoted not for dogmatisation, but for the purpose of provoking thought and stimulating discussion. It has been truly remarked that Sinha's dining table and his monthly Review are but the expression of his inner soul. Whoever said this has hit the truth correctly. But his dining table and his drawing room are probably the manufactories of "The Hindustan Review", and can, therefore, be overlooked for a bit of Bohemianism which one cannot fail to observe therein. Whether by design or accident these are the places where the raw materials for the finished product are examined put to use or rejected. In the drawing room, and at the dinner table Sinha is a kind of sophist and journalist combined. He is also a man of great charm, and of winsome manners. His drawing room therefore has been fittingly described as a centre of ideas and discussions. Young men who frequent Sinha's ever hospitable dinner table invariably acquire a grace and charm of manner. Even the philosophically minded are struck with the grace and naturalness of the unsuspected mission of Sinha's lavish hospitality. Nor are his visitors drawn from any one particular section or exclusive class. A high official dignitary and a clerk often rub shoulders under Sinha's roof. This carefully careless selection of guests has effectively cured the average Bihari of any inferiority complex that he may suffer from in his youth. If Sinha's drawing room has been a school for urbanity and good manners, it has also proved to be a school for naturalness. The greatest proof of Sachchidananda Sinha's attraction lies in the multitude of his distinguished friends who include all or very nearly all, those eminent in the country in literature in society in business or politics who happen to visit Patna.

IV

Sinha is a brilliant man of many parts. He is never sectarian. In his case certainly, 'talent has been cultivated assiduously and there is an odd contrast between the passionate enthusiasm of the man and the rigid discipline of the artist. Sinha anecdotes agree that he is one journalist who can command sleep without much wooing. That is at once a great tribute to his disposition, and his sense of humour. His humour sometimes Bohemian has never been saturnine. In deed Sinha is almost the only person of my acquaintance, of whom it may be said that the world has conspired to speak always a good word and in praise. That may be due to the fact that his kindness and his geniality, which are always pronounced and never vague, are ever free from snobbishness. And so Sachchidananda Sinha is the one connecting link to-day between four generations of our

public life. I have often told him that he owes it to his country, if not to himself, that he must write a book of his reminiscences. Such a book will be bound to throw a good deal of light on many a dark corner of Indian history of recent times. If he gives us an autobiography, it is sure to be free from bitterness. Having never been guilty of personal ambition at the cost of the country, he is sure to give us a connected link without prejudice or favour. He is known for his study of contemporary politics in a scientific spirit, and a reasonable temper. Despite his age, he is not yet too old to undertake the task. I hope that he will add to his services to the country and the profession by writing his autobiography which is long overdue, and which is bound to be equally interesting and instructive.

Sinha's work has been thus of an enduring character. Hundreds, if not thousands, all over India have blessed him for his helping struggling journalists in times of need. His contribution to journalism, and to the country's cause, is truly an enduring work, such as Daniel Webster referred to, when he said on a memorable occasion : "If we work upon marble, it will perish; if we work upon brass, time will efface it; if we rear temples, they will crumble into dust ; but if we work upon immortal minds, if we imbue them with the principle of love of our fellow-men, we engrave on these tablets something that will brighten to all eternity." These memorable words are appropriate to the work of Sachchidananda Sinha, who is an institution by himself. He compels you, by his magnificent, natural and incorrigible generosity and hospitality, to fall in love with him, often despite yourself. For, almost the first thing which Sinha does, as soon as one gets into touch with him, is to discover how far, and in what ways, he can be helpful to the visitor. Even if you were such a prude as would not apply to him for help, even then you could not possibly be free from his welcome attentions, because Sinha would not rest until he had helped someone or other in some way. Nor is he patronising about it. Far from resenting his interference with your affairs, you actually feel grateful to him

. V

Without meaning any disrespect, I would call Sachchidananda Sinha a vampire, for like the honey in the lotus which attracts busy bees from all over, he manages to attract decent crowds of the best men around himself. One wonders how he manages it. I remember, as if it were yesterday, what Dr. Ansari said of him, in 1934. It was on the occasion of the All India Congress Committee meeting which, at Gandhi's instance, suspended Civil Disobedience in favour of a parliamentary programme. Quite a large number of people were staying at Sachchidananda

Sinha's guests and included Dr M A Ansan, Dr Bidhan Chandra Roy Mr Satyamurti, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu Mr & Mrs Asaf Ali and Mr S. A. Brelvi, not to speak of Tulasi Goswami and quite a good contingent from Bengal. I fancy there must have been at least forty to fifty guests besides an equal number who enjoyed his hospitality every day. But this was nothing compared to the weekly feasts in Sinha's house in the unforgettable days of non-co-operation. All those who were worth knowing in Bihar could be found in his hospitable house at Patna. Congressmen, non-Congressmen moderates, indifferents and even reactionaries—all those found a haven of refuge at Sinha's and he a member of the Executive Council of the Governor of Bihar and Orissa the first Indian Finance Member, also the Member in charge of the portfolio of Jails!

Sachchidananda Sinha, I presume is about the only man in our public life who can boast of having filled with distinction and success the exalted position of an Executive Councillor in a provincial Government and yet escaped the enviable 'Honours' list. Excepting for the honorary doctorate, conferred on him in 1937 by the Allahabad University he continues to be without any of those prefixes and suffixes usually associated with Executive Councillors on the retired list. Similarly, his nearly nine years highly successful administration of the Patna University did not bring him any official recognition. An English gentleman, who did not quite like Sinha's advanced politics but had great respect for him, once told me the secret of Sinha not being knighted. I was discussing Sinha with the gentleman because he happened to be at that time Secretary to Government in the Finance Department of which Sinha was the head. He told me.

The truth is, if you must have it, that Sinha would not act as the cat's-paw for us. We knew his immense popularity, and naturally we expected him to give us some information about political affairs. But Sinha would not even humour us." No wonder then that Sachchidananda Sinha is content to be what he is.


Without necessarily violating the rigorous provisions of the Official Secrets Act, one may yet usefully narrate an anecdote or two to illustrate Sachchidananda Sinha's robust patriotism, even when he was a limb of Government of the Government of Bihar and Orissa. Sinha resisted successfully according sanction to the prosecution of Mazharul Haque, at the instance of Colonel—the then Inspector General of Prisons, in Bihar. The Colonel would have undoubtedly succeeded in launching a prosecution had not Sinha withheld sanction on unassailable, legal grounds, to prosecute Haque. Sinha triumphed in the end but it was not without courting unpopularity with his official colleagues. What

Civilian bureaucrats failed to realise was that Sinha was himself a public man of no mean order, and was not likely to agree to the muzzling of the press, or the prosecution of public workers, except on valid legal grounds. And so ended this sensational episode which shook the political world in Bihar in the days of the first non-co-operation movement.

A FEW SNAPSHOTS OF DR. SACHCHIDANANDA SINHA

By

K. ISWARA DUTT

 HAVE a grave doubt if Dr Sachchidananda Sinha will really be pleased to be the recipient of this Commemoration Volume, it would be more correct to say that I have no doubt in my mind about his unfavourable reaction to our well meant token—for it is an unpardonable reminder that he has after all become old. His whole life is one long and sustained revolt against the stupid tendency of growing old—especially, growing oldish. If Dr Sinha is out to defy the law of Nature and fight the very idea of aging—and all that it unfortunately means—this Volume gives him away and reveals what he so zealously guards as a secret not out of any defeatist mentality but because of the indomitable spirit that makes him feel young. The veteran Dr Johnson insisted that he was a young fellow, Holmes maintained he was 'eighty three years young'. Dr Sinha belongs to the same heroic breed. If Dr Sinha has passed seventy-four without recognising the mischief of time he has retained the generous vision of youth, without getting tired of his benevolent outlook on life. He is a forgiving man—and he will not mind the impertinence of well meaning friends who have ventured to pay him the obeisance that the venerableness of age demands as a right or commands with grace. He has never denied them indulgence and will be too good to deny them the privilege of offering him in however small a measure the token of their love, admiration, esteem and gratitude—love for his qualities, admiration for his gifts, esteem for his personality and gratitude for his services.

* * * * *

I should be sorry for the young journalist who has not known Dr Sinha, and sorrier for the young journalist who has not attracted his notice for the very simple reason that Dr Sinha has done in life nothing more enthusiastically than discovering and fostering talent, and rushing to the rescue of journalists thrown out of harness, or flung into cold streets. Nobody has treated journalists with greater concern. Whatever else he was or was not, he has been a journalist *par excellence* (though he has been unlike journalists in other respects) in periodical journalism which owes much to him and as the founder of the *Hindustan Review* which is now in its 46th year of publication and also of the *Indian People* which was

1

later incorporated in the *Leader*, and gave Chintamani his first foothold in the North.

* * * * *

Dr. Sinha is a lawyer by profession and completed in January, 1943, half a century of call to the Bar; nevertheless his heart had been in politics and journalism—the two poles to the ladder of fame. He belonged to the generation which found legal eminence a profitable investment in politics; took his place among the dignitaries of the Congress from its earlier years—when tail coats and top hats dominated the scene—till 1920, when it came under Mahatma Gandhi's control. The additional role of a publicist, and the sovereign boon of affluence, reinforced his rise in the larger arena of public life. Wherever he lived—at Allahabad or Patna—his home at once became the ready rendezvous for the intellectuals. Till the Montford era in politics he was an active Congressman; since then he has studiously kept aloof from the currents of party politics, and functioned as a genuine Independent, owing allegiance to none and critical of all, though in the friendliest spirit. He has kept pace, however, with new tendencies in thought and action in various spheres of our public life. Decades have passed by, registering mighty changes in the Indian scene, but Dr. Sinha remains the same old genial soul, a sympathetic, if a trifle detached, observer of life's pageant in the country.

* * * * *

An extremely well-read man, the core of his thought and the style of speaking and writing are perhaps mid-Victorian, but his delivery is cadenced, and his diction mellifluous. In his speeches and writings there is solid thought—and a plethora of apt and apposite quotations. He is at his best in select company and in congenial atmosphere, where, by his fund of anecdotes and his natural wit, he shakes laughter out of his hearers. His presence is an antidote to one's depression. His talk is one continuous stream of good humour. The collection of his writings and speeches (published in 1942, by Messrs Thacker, Spink & Co. of Calcutta) contains a selection from his essays and addresses which take a high place in humorous literature.

* * * * *

It is difficult to picture Dr. Sinha without his books which go on multiplying exasperatingly, week by week. They cover every aspect of life, and constitute a mighty arsenal of knowledge. As each book passes from his hand to the magnificent library which is his princely gift to Patna, it bears the well thumbbed marks and multi-coloured markings of a voracious reader. Of all things in life,

nothing is more difficult than keeping one's books for, in the matter of books one's best friends are one's worst enemies. It is one of Dr. Sinha's wise mottoes that he is a fool who lends a book, and a greater fool is he who returns it, and he acts according to his convictions. It is the good fortune of Dr. Sinha's many friends that he does not limit his generosity to the food to the mind. He reacts spontaneously and profusely to men's inherent weakness for palate. A host in himself as a host he is a class apart. In the culinary firmament he is a lone star shining resplendent all the day of the year and all the hours of the day.

* * * * *

It is a wonder how amidst all his multifarious activities Dr. Sinha manages to cope with his voluminous correspondence. For filing papers and disposing of letters there are few men who could beat his record. He has evolved a system of his own and retained the habit of a life time which wellnigh exasperates his friends. His promptitude and thoroughness are truly shocking. A wonderful man in every way, Dr. Sinha is one of the few surviving giants of an India that ceases to be—not long from now. A friend of mine tells me often much to my own comfort, that even fine writing comes next to fine living. Ah, that is the phrase! Fine living—that is Dr. Sinha's greatest blessing as well as most inspiring example. His residence, his papers, his books, his dinners, his friends and his notous talk—they have a fullness that one hardly comes across.

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A journalist with no experience of poverty, a politician with no element of bitterness, a Vice-Chancellor with no salary, a veteran publicman and publicist with no title, and a man with no enemies—Dr. Sinha is a rare personage. Both by what he does and what he is he gives us a peep into the 'Better Land' whose denizens are supposed to find life a blessing and not a burden and who shower their blessings too on those around them in a prodigal spirit. It is impossible not to love this grand old man, this consummate entertainer, this king of good company.

DR. SACHCHIDANANDA SINHA AS I KNOW HIM

By

MR. S. HAIDER IMAM, M. L. A. (CENTRAL)

It was in the year of grace 1914, more than three decades ago, when first I had the privilege of meeting Dr. Sachchidananda Sinha. I had matriculated then, and was about to take my admission in the Patna College. Mr. Sinha, as he then was, happened to be a member of the Governing Body of that institution. My father asked me to go to him to pay my respects. Not knowing that close and very intimate friendship existed between him and the members of my family, I wrote a formal note requesting him to spare a few minutes to see me. Immediately an affectionate rebuke came in reply to my letter intimating that I should have addressed him as Uncle Sinha, and not as 'Dear Mr. Sinha.' This incident will show what a great amount of regard he has even for those who do not belong to his community.

Dr. Sinha, in those days, used to occupy the house facing the Patna *maidan*. I was amazed at the huge collection of books in his library, and the large number of newspapers, magazines, and periodicals he was literally surrounded by. He received me with extraordinary kindness and courtesy, and gave me some useful advice. This happened to be my first impression of this great Bihari, who has been worthily playing such an important role in the social and political life of Bihar for now more than five decades.

In the field of journalism, Dr. Sinha undoubtedly occupies a unique place of eminence, honour and distinction not only in his own province but in the country at large, as the founder-editor of "The Hindustan Review" a monthly journal of international fame, which has now existed under his editorship and control for nearly half a century. Above all, Dr. Sinha has a keen sense of humour, and his writings abound in flashes of subtle wit which are highly liked by his innumerable readers.

His public activities are so numerous, and of such varied nature and character that they cannot be adequately described in the limited space at my disposal. It will suffice to say that hardly anything of importance has taken place in Bihar during the last four to five decades in which Dr. Sinha has not taken a prominent

or conspicuous part. As an Executive Councillor of his province his regime of benevolence and goodness to all classes of people irrespective of narrow communal considerations, is still remembered though he retired from office as far back as 1926, after putting in a full term

As the Vice-Chancellor of the Patna University, it is admitted on all hands that he has been a tremendous success so much so that His Excellency the Chancellor persuaded him for the fourth time to bear the burden of the responsibility of his office. Ever since he had been the head of the University he had seen to it that the interests of all important sections of people were properly represented on the Senate which had naturally given satisfaction to all concerned. The students not only looked up to him with respect as an elder statesman, but treated him as their 'friend philosopher and guide'. As a host, there are very few who can surpass him. His table is most generously open to all. His hospitality has become proverbial. Few that I know had entertained so lavishly and with such large-heartedness as he had done all his life. People in Delhi still remember his hospitality when he was member of the Central Legislative Assembly, and its first elected Deputy President in 1921.

To Bihar it is a matter of particular pride and joy that a man of Dr Sinha's great and versatile personality was born brought up and educated in the province and honoured it as the venue of his varied activities and achievements.

DR. SACHCHIDANANDA SINHA. A FEW REMINISCENCES

By

C. V. H. RAO

IT gives me, as to many others, great pleasure to know that in order to pay a tribute to Dr. Sachchidananda Sinha's public services it is proposed to present him with a Commemoration Volume. It is, in my opinion, the most appropriate tribute that can be paid to one like Dr. Sinha who, more than anything else, is a distinguished writer and scholar. I consider Dr. Sinha as also an outstanding figure in the profession to which I have the honour and privilege to belong—the profession of journalism. As a journalist he, however, stands in a category different from most others who are designated as such, in that journalism to him is more a hobby than a profession, but a hobby which he practised and still practises with such assiduousness that he can lay claim to be a master-craftsman in that line. He also never had to struggle for a living as a journalist, as most others who worship at the shrine of that profession in India are forced to do. His claim to be called a journalist rests on such solid foundations as his long-standing position as the editor of an important magazine in India, the *Hindustan Review*, the part he played in the building up of papers like the '*Leader*' of Allahabad and the '*Searchlight*' of Patna and also by the numerous valuable and highly interesting contributions he has made from time to time to newspapers and magazines in different parts of India. Apart from his love of journalism he has a love for journalists to which every one who is engaged in the profession and who has approached him for some kind of help or assistance can testify. At the same time, Dr. Sinha has other strings to his bow also besides journalism. He is a lawyer, a politician, an educationist and an administrator. It is given to few to win distinction in an equal measure in so many and such varied and diverse spheres of activity. That Dr. Sinha is one among these few is, however, the one thing that marks him out from the rest.

I now proceed to give a few of my reminiscences of Dr. Sachchidananda Sinha. I have had the privilege of knowing him intimately and personally ever since I went to Patna to join the '*Indian Nation*.' But my first acquaintance with him, which dates back to more than 12 years ago, was through correspondence. I used to contribute articles to the '*Hindustan Review*' on various political

and economic subjects and quite a number of them found publication therein. I was then just fresh from college and without any recognisable employment. I have a feeling that Dr Sinha used to like my contributions and in a certificate which I wanted from him and which he very readily sent me he was very complimentary about my writings and said some very encouraging things which were flattering to a young man like myself. The estimate of Dr Sinha I formed from his letters to me during that time substantially tallied with the impression I formed of him after I got personally into touch with him later on. He has ever been kind and considerate to me and gave me sound advice on all those occasions when I approached him for such advice.

During the period I was at Patna the one occasion which brought me into intimate contact with Dr Sinha was the last general election to the provincial Legislative Assembly towards the end of 1936. Dr Sinha stood for election from the University Constituency 'The Indian Nation', as representing an independent nationalist policy decided to lend the fullest support to Dr Sinha's candidature. I used to see him in this connection rather frequently and I was struck during those days with Dr Sinha's vigorous mind, his capacity for organisation and his fair dealing in fighting the election. The victory of Dr Sinha in that election was in fact a victory for commonsense, for independence and more than all for his personality. A learned constituency like the University vindicated its name for judging the person who is to represent it by deciding the question on its merits instead of being carried away by the political appellations the candidates carried.

Since then I had come somewhat more closely in touch with Dr Sinha and several times it has been my privilege to enjoy his hospitality at tea. And tea at Dr Sinha's place is not the mere conventional thing that it generally is—it is more often than not an occasion for exchanging information for making new acquaintances and for meeting old ones. As a host Dr Sinha is ideal and admirable. He is very careful to ascertain the tastes and requirements of his guests individually and provide for them as far as possible. I as a vegetarian am a bit difficult as a guest in a house where vegetarianism is not a fad. But in Dr Sinha's house these difficulties were always got over by the personal attention he bestowed on getting some things prepared which I could take without offence to my vegetarianism. The same must be with every other person who is privileged to stay with Dr Sinha.

One of Dr Sinha's qualities that has always excited my admiration is his great attention to detail and the regularity of his habits. The way in which he deals with his correspondence is worthy of emulation by most others who are inclined

to be careless or indifferent about acknowledging letters or replying to them. With Dr. Sinha, however, the case is different. When you write to him about any matter, invariably you can expect an acknowledgment in the next few days if not immediately. The reply may not be as helpful or encouraging as one likes; in point of fact, it is impossible to expect it in all cases. But a reply you will have and as often as not it will contain a word or two or a sentence or two to make you feel that after all there is one who has attempted to understand your point of view and is willing to help if he can. Then again, the way in which he arranges his cuttings of newspapers, the neatness with which he maintains his files, the order in which everything is arranged in his office room and his study, display a proneness to order and cleanliness which is enviable. You can get any cutting on any important subject from his files without much difficulty, every thing is ready at hand. The whole system of keeping files and cuttings works with an almost clock-work regularity.

Dr. Sinha is very punctilious in matters of social *étiquette*. Each one has his place in his social scheme of things. For example, supposing he is giving a dinner to the Governor as Chancellor of the University. Invitations are extended only to the people directly connected with the University bodies, besides, of course, those who are members of the family. Or supposing he is giving a party to journalists, only those principally concerned with journalism and newspapers will be invited and so on. No one can deny that there is a principle and a method in this manner of doing things.

And lastly, as regards the regularity of his habits, the fairly good health Dr. Sinha maintains even at his present advanced age is due mainly to his regular habits, the regular daily routine he follows. Everything has a time fixed for it and it will be done and has to be done at that time. That is extremely helpful, as will be readily conceded, not only to himself in that it enables him to preserve his health in tact but also to those who want to see him and to those who have to do business with him. It will be difficult for many to follow so regular a routine with such undeviating success. But that it has a merit of its own and is worthy of emulation is undeniable.

In Patna, on the whole, Dr. Sachchidananda Sinha is an institution in himself. If we leave out the acerbities created at the time of the last election, Dr. Sinha is in the happy position of being in the confidence of all parties, Congressmen like Dr. Rajendra Prasad or Mr. Sri Krishna Sinha feeling as much at home in his company as a Congress dissenter like Mr. Munshi or an independent politician like Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru. It is well known that during the Congress

ministry's regime, the ministers and others connected with the Congress party used to consult him whenever they had any knotty problem to solve. His administrative experience, his knowledge of constitutional procedure and his trained mind were a great asset to them in tackling those problems. His past career as a publicman may not have been free from political controversies. In fact there was a number of occasions when he was the centre of bitter controversies. But at this moment he occupies the position more or less of an elder statesman whose advice is available to all who may seek it, though he is himself not actively associated with any particular party or group.

By

M. P.

STALK to him on any subject—literature or language, music or painting, history, politics, economics or philosophy—you will find him equally at home in every one of them.

Take out any book from any shelf in his house—and there are books galore in every corner of it, the number of those in his bed room alone would make another proud of his private collection—or any in the large public library which he has built and endowed, you will find unfailingly inside it lines marked with a steady hand in red or blue.

You cannot mistake it. These marks are all Dr. Sachchidananda Sinha's.

I was in Bihar when the Franchise Committee visited Patna, and I happened to be present one evening when some members of the Committee, his guests, and several high-placed officials and distinguished non-officials, were gathered in his room. Some one wanted to refer to a Blue Book, but did not remember which it was. He asked Mr. Chintamani's help. Mr. Chintamani referred him to Dr. Sinha. 'He will tell you which book it is, and will also produce the book from one of his shelves in no time'. This I regard as a great tribute to Dr. Sinha's versatile scholarship.

The true mark of education, it has been said, is how best a man spends his leisure. Dr. Sinha's life of *cultured* ease should provide an object lesson to numerous aristocrats who have plenty of ease but—may I say—great lack of culture. From early morning to 11-30 at night, his daily programme proceeds with clock-like regularity. Before many of us open our eyes, he has done with half a dozen morning papers brought to him straight from the railway station. Punctually at 8 in his office, bath and breakfast from 12-30 to 1-30 then rest, in office again at 3-30, tea and visitors at 5, drive at 6, and from 7 to 11-30 amidst his books with an hour's interval only for dinner at 8-30. And what amount of work he goes through! *Method* is its secret. There is method in all that Dr. Sinha does, and makes others do. There is not a straw in his house, of which there is no record, not an article which is not in its proper place. He receives as many newspapers, morning, afternoon and evening, as are received in a daily newspaper office. His personal *dak* is as heavy as of ten other men. But within an hour and a half, his table is clear again. Write to him, and you receive a reply

by return of post—sooner than you expected if you did not know him. He has inborn dispatch and regularity. During his visits to England he has no private secretary or stenographer but his friends receive letters in his own hand with the same regularity and his grievance remained that others were not writing to him frequently.

But he is no goody goody sort private and social virtues notwithstanding. Scholarship has not made him soft. His speeches in the Imperial and Provincial Legislative Councils are not only noted for eloquence and felicity of expression but also for literary polish and mastery and marshalling of facts. There is a strange vigour in Dr Sinha's speeches. He has his own manner of attack. His wit is devastating. He is generally cool, but God help the member on Government and nominated benches who may go out of his way to excite him.

I remember a European official who seemed bent on proving that he was no respecter of persons. His attacks against Dr Sinha—then the Leader of the Opposition—were in manner and substance similar to those against other members. He invariably got it back. But he outshone himself during the debate on the Joint Parliamentary Committee's Report. The issue was vital. The Governor and many others from Government House were in the galleries. Dr Sinha rose to reply. I shall never forget the scene on that occasion. Dr Sinha's home-thrusts, the sarcasm and the ridicule directed against the official sent, every two minutes, the whole array of European ladies of the Government House and many others in the galleries into paroxysms of laughter, and the victim seemed to be sinking in his seat.

He is a masterful personality. would be nothing but the boss, and he must have his way whatever office he occupies. He gave proof of it as the first Indian Finance Member of the Bihar Government, as even his opponents in that Province recognize. He has also given proof of it in other positions.

He knows what he wants and if he sets his heart on it he will brush aside all opposition and succeed.

With all the demands on his time—politics, profession, journalism and art and literature,—he manages to find time for social life. Men of all schools of political thought and all walks of life—officials and non-officials. Congressmen and non-Congressmen, politicians and journalists, landed aristocrats and landless middle class men and professors and teachers—all flock to him in the afternoons and evenings. His hospitality is unbounded. We read in newspapers of



Dr. B. Sinha as a member of the Imperial Legislative Council (1910)

‘political circles’ and ‘social circles.’ What the expressions mean, you can see at Dr. Sinha’s house. There, at some time or other, you can meet any one worth knowing in Bihar and some in the whole of India.

Of a piece, perhaps, with his love of method is his love of form. ‘I attach more importance to manners than to brains,’ he once remarked in effect. Let, for instance, any student dressed in Indian style go to him without a cap on ! But with all his love of form, he is also very unconventional. He is untroubled by some common human vanities. Whatever the assembly, he would insist on talking to Biharis in his and their own dialect. He has an abhorrence of Persianized Urdu and Sanskritized Hindi and never hesitates to give a bit of his mind to him who indulges in this artificiality in his presence—whoever he may be.

Dr. Sachchidananda Sinha is completing his seventy-fourth year, and that he shouldered the responsibilities of the office of Vice-Chancellor, for a period of nearly nine years, amidst his other pre-occupations, speaks volumes for his spirit of public service. He was the first non-official—Sir Sultan Ahmad was Government Advocate when he held the Vice-Chancellorship—to be appointed to that honorary office in his province and his record of achievements in this capacity have been magnificent indeed.

SACHCHIDANANDA SINHA A PERSONAL STUDY

By

MR. M. C. SAMADDAR

IGO and Humour are perhaps two incompatibles. But they have made a perfect combination in Dr Sachchidananda Sinha long the Vice Chancellor of the Patna University (Barrister-at-law editor of the monthly *Hindustan Review*, Doctor of Literature, *honoris causa*, Allahabad University 1937) whose 74th birthday we will all be celebrating on the 10th of November 1945. His ego is not the expression and glorification of his own self above all but the laying bare of his soul before all. It is not a pedantic ego even a child will know him, understand him and to know him is to love him, to admire him to revere him.

Otherwise how could I a young journalist of only eight years' experience aged only 31 chat (he is such a good talker) with perfect equanimity with this grand old man of Bihar yet green in heart who had been four times Vice-Chancellor of the Patna University in succession had addressed the Convocations of the Lucknow, Nagpur and Utkal Universities (1935 1937 and 1943 respectively), had been the Finance Member in the Executive Council of the Governor of Bihar and Orissa from 1921 to 1926 and the Secretary of a session of the Indian National Congress held at Patna in 1912 as also the first elected Deputy President of the Central Assembly (1921), and so on and so forth.

I am no student of psychology. But I think that humour comes out of kindness (doctors would say that it is the result of a good liver). If it were not so how would Dr Sinha rebuff the students (and elders too) who would gather round him every morning and evening, into silence and then proceed to enquire kindly of their troubles and difficulties? Or is it all due to cynicism, both the ego and the humour arising out of carelessness a care-freeness?—I am not certain.

A personal study is not a catalogue of events and achievements. But I cannot help it for even a mere enumeration helps one to understand this man, how varied have been his activities, how divergent have been his thought-currents, how wide has been his appreciation. Here are some though not in chronological order in addition to those already

mentioned :—President, 3rd session, Hindustani Academy, Allahabad, 1936; President of the All-India Kayastha Conference, 35th session, Delhi, 1929; President of the Bihar Conference, 1941; invited to represent the newspapers of India at the 1st International Press Conference at Geneva, organised by the League of Nations, 1927; represents the Bihar Press on the Press Advisory Committee formed recently by the Government of India; opened the Press Exhibition at Allahabad, 1935; President of the Bihar Provincial Congress Committee (previous to 1920); connected with the Non-Party Leaders Conference; President of the Bihar Provincial Conference, 1909; President of the Agra and Oudh Provincial Conference, 1913; Chairman, Reception Committee of the 4th session of the All India Library Conference, Patna, 1940; President, Bihar and Orissa Legislative Council (1921-22); Temporary Speaker of the Bihar Legislative Assembly, 1937; Chairman, Reception Committee, 20th session, Bihar Co-operative Federation Congress, 1938, President, Allahabad University Music Conference, 1934; Chairman, Reception Committee, Bihar Provincial Hindu Conference, Patna, 1927; performed the opening of the (1942) session of the All-India Medical Conference, Patna; President of the (i) Bihar Young Men's Institute, (ii) Patna Music Club, (iii) Bihar Association (iv) New Patna Club; appeared as witness, before (i) The Muddiman Committee (ii) Joint Parliamentary Committee in London, 1933, (iii) Bihar Education Reorganisation Committee, (iv) Niemeyer Committee; was the Chairman of the Benares State Constitutional Reforms Committee; has read a paper before the East India Association, London, 1927; has been an I. C. S. Examiner—I don't mind if something has been missed.

II

Before I go back to my reflections, let me recount, in barest outline, three items in Sinha's life-story—(A) Chronology, (B) Philanthropic activities, (C) Record of journalism. In the last I will quote an interesting line from one of his own speeches, recently delivered at a meeting of Allahabad journalists.

A. Education School at Arrah and T.K. Ghosh's Academy at Patna; College—Patna College and City College, Calcutta; legal practice: called to the Bar (Middle Temple) in 1893; joined Calcutta High Court in 1893; Allahabad High Court in 1896; Patna High Court in 1916.

B Founded the Shrimati Radhika Sinha Institute and Sachchidananda Sinha Library at Patna; Chair of Economics at Kayastha Pathshala University College at Allahabad with an endowment of Rs. 50,000; Science Scholarship at the University of the Punjab with an endowment of another Rs. 50,000.

C. Edited the English edition of the *Kayastha Samachar* from July 1900 to 1902 in January 1903 the *Kayastha Samachar* converted into the *Hindustan Review* collaborators in the *Kayastha Samachar*—Pandit (now the Rt. Hon Sir) Tej Bahadur Sapru and Satish Chandra Banerji) *Indian People* started at Allahabad first as a weekly in January 1903 subsequently changed into a bi weekly, then tri weekly—with the late Sir C. Y. Chintamani as Assistant Editor in 1909 the *Indian People* is merged into the *Leader*—Sinha is one of the first directors of the *Leader* connected with the *Beharee*, *Behar Times Searchlight*, *Indian Nation*—as a Director or on the Editorial Board

Here is Sinha's confession

The only amount I have earned in my life by my writings was the magnificent sum of three guineas (about Rs 40/-) which the *Manchester Guardian* paid me, in 1934 for a special article which I wrote at the request of the Editor reviewing the Report of the Joint Parliamentary Committee

I cannot desist from quoting another line from the same speech I do not know why—but most probably because they substantiate my contention—or am I overdoing it?

'...All journalists have to work. Although I am conducting, as I have done for 43 long years a Monthly I am working as much as anyone else at the age of 72 to maintain the high standard of that Journal. On an average I have spent about Rs 5 000 each year on the maintenance of the *Hindustan Review* for about four decades.' The two quotations taken together reveal one of his best sentiments that he has cherished

III

The ego perhaps spurred him to go to England in the late eighties of the last century in spite of tough opposition from his relations. Social prejudices could not also deter him from marrying a lady of a different sub caste, a taboo at that time.

Sinha writes a big and bold hand. A handwriting expert may fathom out many a secret out of a reading of this handwriting. But to me it seems that it is certainly truly expressive of Sinha's personality and temperament.

His flair for details as also his nationalistic aspirations especially his achievement of the dream of a separate province of Bihar are typified in his admonition to any Bihar youth who would go to him without a cap on

The Hindustan Review is not his only hobby. Teas and dinners to his friends are a second nature to him. And all the dishes will have to be prepared with meticulous care, under his personal supervision. Good food, good liver; good liver, good humour—for the guest as well as the host !

He is completing 74, which, in Bengali adage, is the age for loss of memory. But Dr. Sinha's brain even now is like a good dictionary—full of accurate details , but certainly not inflexible.


And what indefatigable energy too !

His voracity in reading has also not diminished. At the moment that I am writing this out, perhaps Dr. Sinha is reading a book and blue-pencilling it, or making cuttings of the newspapers and periodicals that he receives daily, and they are legion. Like Tilak, Sinha has a nice cuttings library. Quotations are so easy after that. Of course, they have to be classified. Well, in Sinha's library, they are !

DR. SACHCHIDANANDA SINHA

By

A JOURNALIST

 IN the realm of Indian Journalism there are hardly half of a dozen names that shine with that brilliance or meet with such an admiration amongst the country's intelligentsia and leading intellectual lights as that of Dr Sachchidananda Sinha, whose name as founder and editor of the *Hindustan Review* has spread not only throughout the country but also in different parts of Europe and America.

Dr Sinha always had a passion for newspaper work from a very young age, and this has only grown with years unabated by the many changing conditions in the social and political life of the country. In fact to no small extent has the political and social life throughout this great land been enriched by his entry into journalism. The '*Hindustan Review*—the most popular monthly devoted to social, political and literary topics—is a magazine that enjoys a reputation for its fearless frank and progressive views expounded by some of the best brains of the country. It was started in July 1900 by Dr Sinha when he was barely 30 years old, and yet had clear cut ideas with regard to the future of the country.

Very few had the imagination in those early days to use to public benefit and national profit a powerful instrument such as a journal. It must be said to the credit of Dr Sinha that he had both the vision and the foresight to understand the power that a journal can wield if properly conducted, and the

'*Hindustan Review*' has certainly contributed much to bringing around progress and establish a noble tradition for itself. Besides this journal the *Indian People* was started by Dr Sinha at Allahabad as a weekly in 1903, and later converted into a twice weekly with the late Sir C. Y. Chintamani as the Assistant Editor. This was indeed a great and harmonious combination for thus came together two patriotic men, who worked assiduously and gave their very best of vast learning to their readers. With Dr Sinha it was then as it is even now a literary and intellectual pastime seeking neither fame nor fortune out of it. But he does admit that it has enabled him to come into contact with all the great men of India during the last forty years of his active journalistic career. Even in those

early days there were many independent thinkers and writers who used to contribute to the "Hindustan Review", and enliven the ideas of its vast circle of readers.

II

At a farewell party given just the other day to Mr. Justice Wadia, on his retirement, at Bombay, Dr. Sinha was one of the honoured guests who was specially invited, being just then a visitor, to the city. Though Dr. Sinha had entirely forgotten, his memory was somewhat refreshed and he was given a pleasant surprise when Mr. Justice Wadia in a friendly and reminiscent mood remarked how so far back as in 1907 and 1908, he used to be a frequent contributor to the "Hindustan Review". This is only a casual instance which will show how Dr. Sinha has come to be known among various ranks of society. It is no exaggeration to say that almost everybody who is anybody in Indian life,—whether official or otherwise,—in the social or political sphere, is known to Dr. Sinha. It may seem that this is at a very heavy cost, for instead of earning money out of his journal, Dr. Sinha has all along made huge sacrifices by sticking to his independent principles and political views. The temptation no doubt may have been very great and almost anybody without such a staunch character and firmness of ethical principle as he possesses would have succumbed to the desire to make money out of the publication. But, on the other hand, during this period of forty-five years, the "Hindustan Review" has entailed an expense of nearly a lac of rupees. This is the heavy price that Dr. Sinha has paid for maintaining the purity of his ideals.

Born of a well-bred middle class family on the 10th of November 1871, Dr. Sinha was first educated in his home town, Arrah, and finished his education in Patna College and later in the City College, Calcutta. From very young age he showed forensic abilities and possessed a rare power of speech that befitted a great lawyer. Naturally, though still young, he proceeded to England while barely in his eighteenth year, and was called to the Bar (Middle Temple) in 1893. As a lad of 18, while in London, he joined the Northbrook Indian Club, which was started by Lord Northbrook, an ex-Viceroy of India. Though young and beset with many attractions of western city life and the lure and glamour of London, the sterling character of young Sinha was unshaken. Instead of spending his time frivolously like many other youths, young Sinha would devote himself to serious study pouring over many books from the different public libraries and he breathed much of the higher intellectual life of the British capital. He absorbed all that was good in English life and institutions, and he made the fullest use both of his stay in England and of his vast travels in

different parts of the continent of Europe. During his sojourn and his travels abroad, there was no time that young Sinha was not in constant touch with his country studying her varied and growing problems and making a comparative study of the same with those that he observed abroad. He used to receive Indian and Anglo Indian papers from India which followed him practically wherever he went. He has kept the same habit of reading during the last fifty-one years and there is no paper and magazine of importance that he does not closely go through. He is a voracious reader and his literary taste is versatile.

There is no Indian journalist of any merit or eminence who is unknown to Dr Sinha, or who does not know Dr Sinha. Dr Sinha enjoys his reputation as a lawyer of extraordinary abilities and has built no small fortune from his vast practice. As an advocate practising in the Allahabad High Court and afterwards in the Patna High Court, his legal talent has been the envy of many others in the profession. He is, undoubtedly one of the seniormost advocates in India having joined the Bar so far back as 1893.

The political life of Dr Sinha is a long and uninterrupted one interspersed with great honour and offices which he held which betoken the great trust in which he is held by a vast number of people. He is a staunch nationalist and has been so even from his younger days. He was for a long time President of the Bihar Provincial Congress Committee and his name had been recommended for the Presidentship of the Congress. Of course, this was previous to 1920 when the Congress embarked upon Civil Disobedience and Non-co-operation movements. Dr Sinha a man of independent views, neither seeking favours nor in fear of any party or person seceded from the Congress, but refused at the same time to join the Liberal or any other party although pressed to do so by much great stalwarts as Sir Surendranath Banerjee. He has always since then kept aloof from all Party activities, but has by word and deed from the platform and the Press preached Indian unity and progress.

Dr Sinha was the first Indian to be elected the Deputy President of the Central Assembly in 1921. He was also the first Indian Finance Member in any British Indian Province, holding the important portfolio as member for Bihar and Orissa from 1921 to 1927. The Muddiman Committee presided over by Sir Alexander Muddiman (who afterwards became the Governor of the United Provinces) spoke highly of his achievements as Finance Member and the Committee (which consisted of Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, Sir Sivaswami Iyer and Mr M. A. Jinnah amongst others) unanimously declared that his work as

Finance Member compared far favourably with that of any Civilian Finance Member in other Provinces.

The wide recognition of his great talents and the thorough grasp which he has over educational matters is revealed from the fact that he was appointed Vice-Chancellor of Patna University in August 1936, at first for a term of three years and again given three successive extensions of two years each. This is, indeed, a unique honour for any one individual, and amply testifies his extraordinary intellectual abilities.

Dr. Sinha is a man with a large heart, which is evident from his many beneficent charities. In memory of his wife he established and endowed, in 1924, the Sreemati Radhika Institute and Library at Patna at the cost of nearly three lakhs. This building houses one of the largest public libraries besides a large public hall in Patna, and contains a splendid collection of classical and current works in English. He also founded a chair of Economics at Kayastha Pathshala University College, at Allahabad, with an endowment of Rs. 50,000, besides the founding of a Science Scholarship in the University of the Punjab, with an endowment of Rs. 50,000. This is a clear testimony of his broad, national outlook, free from sectarian or communal tinge. It is no wonder, therefore, that he is considered as one of the prominent figures of our country, respected and regarded as such all over India.

No man is more responsible for the creation of a new Province of Bihar than Dr. Sachchidananda Sinha, who has used his position, his talents and his fortune to the setting up of this province, thus fully deserving the honour and the name of the 'Maker of Modern Bihar'. He is indeed one of those whose work will endure, spread and grow and entitle him to the love and honour of his countrymen.

Special Articles

HOW TO BE HAPPY THOUGH RETIRED

By

SIR T. VIJAYARAGHAVACHARYA

HERE was a story current in my boyhood in Southern India—I do not like to say how long ago it was—that a Hindu Government official, who had attained fifty-five years of age and had, therefore, been retired from service the previous day, was sitting at dinner. His Brahman cook served him the usual quantity of ghee on the leaf. He told the man, “Look. From today I am on the retired list. My pension is just half of what I drew as my salary. Hereafter everybody in this household will be served with only half the ghee hitherto allowed to him.” Ghee is about the costliest article in the Hindu vegetarian meal and the ex-official thought he would start with retrenchment on that item. Now the Brahman cook in Madras has always been an independent type of man. He told his master, “Very well, Sir. Hereafter you will get half your usual allowance of ghee. You have retired. But I have not. I shall continue to consume my usual quantity.”

Another story told in my boyhood relates to another aspect of the problem which faces the government servant, who after a life of busy activity and power suddenly finds himself, on the attainment of the fatal age of 55, placed on the shelf. In this case, it was a revenue man who had spent all his official life in his native district exercising considerable authority over the village officers. He owned lands within his jurisdiction and by virtue of the position he held, he was exempt from paying the usual *mamools* or tips to the village servants which the ryot pays or used to pay on the occasions of festivals, such as the Dipavali or Pongal. He retired and when Dipavali came round the village officers presented themselves for their tips. The ex-officer remonstrated on the ground that hitherto he had not been accustomed to pay. He got back the reply, “Sir, then you were the Tahsildar. Now you are a non-official, but *we* are still officials.”

The Oxford dictionary defines “climacteric” as a critical stage in human life; a period supposed to be specially liable to change in health or fortune.” So far as the government servant is concerned this stage is, with a few exceptions, rigidly fixed and in most departments of the State, it is the age of 55. So far as health is concerned, I do not think there is any reason for a marked deterioration

in health in the man who has come to that age. But definitely there is a decline in fortune, a sharp decline. The larger the salary which the man enjoyed, the deeper is the fall. I know of a few fortunate individuals who served not under Government but in a City Corporation or in an Indian State, in whose cases a grateful employer relaxed the ordinary rule and granted them pensions equivalent to their salaries on active service. These exceptions, however, only prove the rule and as the fateful age approaches the mind of the man whose official life is ebbing past, is harassed by the perplexing problem of how a standard of living based on his salary is to be reduced to one based on anything from a half to a fifth of that income.

It may be urged on the other side specially by people who take the view that salaries in India are pitched too high that the man fully aware of a rigid regulation fixing the date of retirement should have exercised forethought and begun to save long ago so that when retired his pension could be materially supplemented by the yield from his investments. The argument sounds very plausible so plausible indeed that the sympathy which the retiring man is expecting may be turned into a criticism of the supposed extravagant life he has been leading. This objection does not however take note of the fact that we are living in a period of transition and that the present day Indian who earns a comfortable income be he a Government servant or a man engaged in what are called the learned professions or in business has to meet two kinds of expenditure. He has acquired quasi European habits or what some people may call civilised habits of life such as living in a house situated in its own grounds instead of in a street house, furnishing it in a suitable manner, and in addition to the copper, brass bell metal, silver utensils and vessels which a middle-class Indian household owns he goes in for China crockery plates forks and spoons pots and all the other appurtenances or encumbrances of the western way of living. His wife will not cook, expensive cooks who throw about things and break china and brass with impartial zeal have to be engaged. His daughters disdain household manual work, clothe themselves fashionably they have dressing tables equipped with perfumes powders and paints which will do credit to an English girl and go about shopping and paying calls. Not content with the time honoured ceremonial or wedding dinner, the modern man has acquired the English habit of routine entertainment. The ancient Ayurvedic or Unani physician with his modest composition fee is no longer in favour. The European system trained doctor with his daily fee varying from Rs 5/ to Rs 16/- has taken his place. The more ambitious type of parent is not satisfied with the education he himself got in the school or college in his district or Presidency town. His sons must go

for their elementary schooling to Mussoorie or Dehra Dun and for their higher education nothing less than Oxford or Cambridge, or failing these, London, Manchester, Leeds or a Scottish or Welsh University, will content them. I must candidly admit, however, that in some of these cases there may be a good reason for sending the family hopeful abroad. The boy may have found his own Indian University unsympathetic. A couple of unsuccessful attempts at home examinations is a pre-disposing factor to a decision to let the boy have his chance in the more liberal and sympathetic atmosphere of an English University.

While the modern Indian is thus incurring expenditure based on a European standard of what is the right way to live, and what is the right thing to do by his wife, daughters and sons, he is at the same time not free to evade the obligations that the older Indian notions of living and of what his duties are towards his poorer and less fortunate relations cast on him. His nephews and nieces, his sisters, their husbands and their children, if in difficult circumstances, have to be helped occasionally; the occasions tend to increase rather than decrease as the breadwinner gets older. His daughters, as I have already pointed out, may be westernised in their outward habits of life, but they all have to be married, and that as early as possible, subject to the limitations imposed by the Sarda Act and the prospects of catching a desirable husband. Even in the old days, marriages were an extravagance. In the modern age, the cost has been increased, to an incredible extent, by the price exacted by the intended bridegroom or his parents. Woe betide the unfortunate father of the bride if her fiance happens to have had an expensive education in a foreign University and obtained admission into one of the all-India or Central Services. The bride's father has, in many cases, to discharge the expenditure already incurred by the young man, not to speak of the numerous recurring occasions in the future provided by a kindly and thoughtful Hindu Law or perverted custom. An old saying in Southern India was to the effect that even a King would have to seek relief under the insolvency law if he was blessed with five daughters. Three would be quite sufficient to accomplish the same purpose at the present day.

It may be asked, "All that you say may be true. But what is the remedy you propose? Under what items would you advise the man who is retiring from service or a profession or business to retrench his domestic budget? We know what you government servants are. Whenever you complain of your financial straits and embarrassments, it is a prelude to a demand for a larger salary. In this case we suspect you are going to put forward a request for an all-round enhancement of pensions." No, Believe me. I have no such subtle purpose in

my mind. For one thing any scheme of this character would not be an adequate solution. The financial difficulties I have explained are not peculiar to the man retiring from a government service. They are shared by his brother Indian retiring from professional practice or a business career. My solution is intended to meet the cases of all alike. And like all good solutions may I say so with becoming modesty it is a simple solution. The difficulties of all these classes of society arise, as I have already stated, from the double life that they are leading. No offence is meant when I use the phrase double life. I merely mean the super imposition of a European standard of living on a mode of living which in fundamentals still conforms to the ancient Indian thought and feeling. When you retire from an active life, make up your mind to return as far as possible to Indian ways discarding whatever of European habits you can give up without an undue sacrifice of your comfort. I say 'as far as possible', because I am not an extremist, and I recognise that it is impossible to return altogether to the fashion of living of your forefathers. What particular things you can give up and what other things you must stick to if you are not to make the evening of your life miserable depends on individual taste and feeling. A root and branch reform which will enable you to balance your budget straightaway is to give up living in a city and take up residence in a rural area. You can have a comfortable cottage and spend much of your time in the open air you can do without a motor car now that buses are everywhere to serve you on occasional journey to the nearest town. In a village you are free from the supposed necessity to keep up appearances. On the other hand you may be so urbanised in thought and habits that you would be bored to death if you had not your coffee-house to go in the morning and your Club in the evenings. Or your sons may still be in college or earning a living in a town. But even so it is possible to do without a motor-car, which next to a town house is the most expensive item in the domestic budget. Large town now a-days, boast of tramway and bus services and there is no loss of respectability even in an ex high official or prosperous ex merchant using them. A village has this advantage. A change from town to village makes it easier not only for you but for the members of your household, to discard artificial habits and to learn the value of using one's hands instead of employing servants.

I wonder how many have heard the story of the English Cabinet Minister who went to the French Riviera on a month's holiday. He had been working hard and in order to insure a perfect holiday he left strict instructions that no letters or papers should be forwarded. The first day after his arrival he enjoyed the unwonted freedom from official job seekers and office files. The second was

equally restful. On the third day he wondered to himself if just a couple of visitors and two or three cases which could have been dealt with in a leisurely way would not be an agreeable incident of a holiday. On the fourth day he had a positive feeling that they would be agreeable. By the time a week was over he began to feel that an unbroken holiday, all play and no work, was something of a bore. As the days of the second week went round, his sense of monotony increased. At the end of a fortnight, he could endure the holiday no longer. He cancelled the rest of his leave and returned to London.

Then there was the case of the official in the Indian Civil Service serving in one of the provinces of India. He was a very hard-working man ; he played no games, he had no hobbies, his mind was absorbed wholly by his work. He was all brains and no physique, the type that is destined for the Secretariat. After a year's work in the districts, he was taken up in the Secretariat of the Provincial Government and the rest of his service of 35 years in India was spent all there. He kept up his habits of steady and rigorous industry, right through his whole career. I met him for the first time when he was Chief Secretary. The junior Under-Secretaries stood in awe of him. None of them could work as long hours, as he did. He came to office earlier than any of them and left it long after them. In conversation with me, I was a junior official in the districts then, he impressed on me the importance of hard work, and complained of the way in which district officers were apt to concentrate on the executive side of their work and on their tours to the prejudice of the office work at headquarters. He told me that in 28 years' service he had only once taken "home" leave, and that was for four months to get married. A year after I saw him, he had his first illness. The doctors, aware of his incredible industry, naturally pounced on that, said it was a protest by Nature against his practice of all work and no play and ordered a perfect rest in bed. After three days of complete inaction, the patient could stand his enforced idleness no longer. He got worse instead of better. One of the doctors in attendance was a shrewd man with a sense of humour. He ordered that files should be sent to the patient's bed from the Secretariat, and that, combined doubtless with the doctor's drugs, made the Chief Secretary all right in a week.

Having related two stories of Englishmen, it seems only fair that I should now turn my attention to an Indian Official. I recall the case of the able official who after a long service in British India was called up to be the Diwan of an Indian State. In his own way he was as hard a worker as the Chief Secretary I mentioned before. The quantity of midnight oil that he consumed was prodigious.

gious and the Diwan's office had to keep two personal stenographers for their Chief, one for the day the other for the evening. He stayed on in service till he had put in forty years of it and then the inevitable day of retirement came as it comes to all of us including even those who are so young now and who will be so old, alas so soon. The Diwan chose for his retirement a little village, prettily situated on the bank of a river nestling amongst coconut and mango groves far from the busy world. The nearest Post Office was three miles away and as for a telegraph office one had to go to the railway station fifteen miles distant. The Diwan's medical advisers had recommended that after a strenuous official life, he should avoid a city with all its hurry and spend the evening of his life in a sequestered spot far from the madding crowd's ignoble strife. A year after his retirement he fell ill. An intimate friend a lawyer practising in the Presidency town came to see him. The doctors who were in attendance on him could not diagnose his illness and were worried as to what to do. After a week's stay the lawyer who found that his stay had done his friend good persuaded him to buy a large farm in the neighbourhood. The district was unsurveyed and the boundaries of farms were indefinite. The Diwan Sahib's new acquisition soon involved him in disputes with the farmers cultivating land adjoining his own farm. The disputes after acrimonious correspondence landed the Diwan in suits in the civil courts. Thanks to the liberal provisions of the Civil Procedure Code, and the considerate indulgence of the officers presiding over the courts the suits took years to be disposed of. Meanwhile the Diwan was kept busy, consulting solicitors and attending courts and he had never felt so well since he retired. His lawyer friend had diagnosed his illness and prescribed an efficient remedy. He was suffering from boredom and boundary disputes with his neighbours were the right medicine.

Years ago before expenditure by provincial governments was rigorously cut down the provinces used to issue quarterly civil lists some of which showed the dates of retirement of officers who had served in the All India services. The names were mostly those of Englishmen. It was amazing the number of men who had retired many many years ago had lived to draw their pensions. I used in idle moments to make a calculation of the total money they had received as pension. In several cases it exceeded the amount they had received as salary for active service. No such list was published of officers of the provincial and subordinate services. It is not possible, therefore, to make exact comparisons. But from obituary notices in the provincial newspapers and from personal knowledge, the Indian proportion of those who survive long to enjoy their pensions must be small. One reads so often in the papers of Indian officials who served their full

term of 30 years or over, dying suddenly for no very definite cause soon after they relinquish their offices. It would be a valuable inquiry if some provincial government put somebody on to the task of compiling a list of Indian officers of the superior services who retired on pension, and classify them according to the number of years they survived their retirement. I suggest as a basis for classification, those who served for a year and under, for five years and under, for ten years and under and so on, by steps of five-year-periods, till we come up to 50 or more. There should not be many pages required for the last class. The reasons for this difference in the period of survival between retired English and Indian officials have often been discussed in Indian official circles. Usually they are content with the explanation that the Englishman's physique is better, that he eats more nourishing food, and that the country in which the Englishman spends his retirement is cooler and sanitarily better looked after than India. I violently disagree on the question of the superiority of the Englishman's diet. I do not know why the Indian vegetarian is so defeatist in his attitude and succumbs so readily to the very doubtful argument that a meat-eater eats more nourishing food than a vegetarian. A balanced vegetarian diet, I mean, a diet, properly composed of proteins and carbohydrates should be as good as a diet in which meats preponderate. In fact, for a hot country like India, vegetarian diet should have obvious advantages over a meat one. The official class I am speaking of, is able to afford a balanced diet of which plenty of milk, milk products, fresh vegetables and grams and pulses should form a part as well as cereals.

There is some thing to be said for the argument that England is sanitarily better administered and that the sanitary conscience, of the Englishman is more active than that of his Indian brother. Look at the ado that is made and the outcry that is raised when some English port gets cases of small-pox. Witness the bother that was given some years ago, to the public health authorities in England over the outbreak of typhoid in Croydon. In India, we do not worry about them. Typhoid and small-pox, are like the poor always with us. Even so, the classes I am referring to live in conditions not so exposed to epidemics, and the number of deaths amongst this class from this cause cannot be large. As for England's cooler climate, it is true. I doubt, however, if an Indian, or for the matter of that an English official who has served in India for 25 or 30 years would prefer the climate of an English winter.

My explanation of the difference is that the English civil servant has, generally speaking, interests, physical, social and intellectual outside his official work, and

these interests keep him alive in his retirement. The Indian official, again generally speaking, has a single track mind. He has no hobbies. In my opinion it is extremely dangerous for a man who has lived the best part of his life in a strenuous intellectually active way to drop it all and relapse at an arithmetical point in his life into a complete restful existence when his mind has nothing to play with. It is not so much the absence of an office to go to, the absence of favour-seekers and of *liveried chaprasis* that kills the retired Indian official as the feeling of boredom. The remedy I propose is cultivation of hobbies less absorption from the beginning in the work, in the glamour and in the ambitions of office and a larger contact with unofficial life. If you cannot cultivate a hobby buy a piece of a land in a village preferably in an unsurveyed tract of country and get into a law suit, like my friend, the Diwan

SIR WILLIAM WATSON

By

DR. AMAR NATH JHA

The Victorians—poets and politicians and prophets—are, for all their solemnity and solidity the object now of ridicule or at best of gentle superior criticism. They are so distant from the stern realities of today, it is said they lived in such an attractive imaginary earthly paradise; they so ignored harsh truths and preferred to pin their faith to God in his heaven; their comfortable belief in the federation of the world has been proved to be so false; their major problems, Free Trade and Protection, the education of women, the Tractarian movement, the Bulgarian atrocities, the War in Crimea, seem in the retrospect so petty; they, were in short, so Victorian that it seems, except for historical reasons, hardly worthwhile attending to them. But it is no use forgetting that today is the heir of yesterday, and, whether we like it or not, we are descended from the Victorians. Is it, however, quite clear that they have no intrinsic worth? Are they not worth study for their own sake? Is there not in them largeness of utterance, nobleness of vision, healthiness of outlook, energy, power, grace and the other qualities that ensure permanence? The robust humour of Dickens; the tragic intensity of Thomas Hardy; the moving eloquence of Newman, the clear, keen insight of Matthew Arnold, the encyclopædic range of Tennyson's interests; the psychological studies of Browning; Swinburne's impassioned and elemental energy; William Morris' dreams of tomorrow's uprising to deeds that shall be sweet, the tender lyrics of Christina Rossetti; the perfection of the prose style in Walter Pater; Yeats, whose melody never failed him—is one to ignore all this merely because it is Victorian? "Q", a sure judge of literary excellence, a man of letters more than a mere professor, says.

"After many months spent in close study of Victorian verse, I rise from the task in reverence and wonder not only at the mass of poetry written with ardour in these less-than-a hundred years, but at the amount of it, which is excellent; and the height of some of that excellence; in some exultation too, as I step aside and—drawing difficult breath!—gaze after the stream of young runners with their torches."

I remain that at no period of English history has so much been produced and so much of real excellence. They had defects too "thick in the words of Tennyson, 'as dust in vacant chamber', but under the dust under the dead weight of contemporary rust, there is pure gold

It is of a late Victorian that I write in this paper. I have not cared to obtain knowledge of his life. I have contended myself with a study of his published work. Sir William Watson is a writer whose work can be appraised without any reference to the circumstances of his career. I do not know if he was born in a well-to-do family; if he went to a University; what job he had; what, in legal phraseology, his ostensible means of living were; where he lived; whether he was married and had children. Nor is any of this information necessary in order to enjoy and criticise his literary work.

Watson's first volume 'The Prince's Quest' was written in 1880 and his active literary career continued for half a century. His intense patriotism, his transparent sincerity, his manly outspokenness, his sense of the high dignity of the poetic muse are characteristics that one can notice in all the stages of his career. One notices too the marvellous felicity of phrase—a little too polished, too faultless for lyric passion and energy indicating rather thought, deliberation, criticism than abandon, liveliness and vivacity. There is eloquence and grace and a uniformly high standard of finish. There is no trace anywhere of slovenliness or haste. The poet seems to have thought carefully over every phrase and every line and given to it a polish and a grace that may appear a little cold, a little too perfect, but that is a testimony to his skill as a verbal artist. Scattered all over his work are jewelled phrases, verbal gems such as

'The mystery we make darker with a name.'

And little masters make a toy of song

'Keats on his lips the eternal rose of youth

The earth was all in tune, and you a note

Of Nature's happy chorus

"I have seen the morn' one laugh of gold

O lives that nameless come and noteless go"

'Who tilled not earth save with the harrow of war

But while he is obviously in love with words he is no lover of many words. As he says in the 'Preface' to the *Poems Brief and New* he has studied brevity. He succeeds in packing many thoughts into a line and a whole

landscape in a few phrases. His opinion on the subject is expressed in the lines :

“ Since life is rough,
Sing smoothly, O Bard ”.

Many of Watson's poems are distinctly literary, owing their inspiration to literature and men of letters, reminiscent of great passages, and yet characterised both by originality of expression and freshness of approach. In “ Wordsworth's Grave ” written in the eighties, we have for the first time an endeavour to combine elegiac emotion with penetrative criticism. In one stanza, he distinguishes Wordsworth from other masters .

“ Not Milton's keen, translunar music thine ,
Not Shakespeare's cloudless, boundless human view ,
Not Shelley's flush of rose on peaks divine ;
Nor yet the wizard twilight Coleridge knew ”.

He goes into the heart of Wordsworth's poetry when he says ;

“ Thou hadst for weary feet, the gift of rest ”.

In the same volume he refers to “ the frugal note of Gray ”, surely a more fit phrase than Matthew Arnold's—“ he never spoke out ”. And how exquisitely he describes Burns :

“ On life's broad plain the ploughman's conquering share
Upturn the fallow lands of truth anew ”.

This is how he sums up the main features of the poetry of the eighteenth century :

“ Thenceforth she but festooned the porch of things ”
—eternal decoration, touching but the outer surface of life, not
plumbing the deeps, playing but on the porch, never venturing to
enter the heart. On Shelley's Centenary in 1892, he described
“ the ineffectual angel ”, as
“ A singer, who, if errors blurred
His sight, had yet a spirit stirred
By vast desire,
And ardour fledging the swift word
With plumes of fire ”.

On the death of Tennyson, he wrote “ Lachrymae Musarum ”, the poem by which perhaps Watson is best known. Obviously he took as his model

Tennyson's Wellington Ode but the poem is unquestionably a noble and sincere tribute from a younger poet to the most picturesque and melodious singer who had dominated literature and stirred the popular imagination for over half a century. He laments that the life that seemed a perfect song is over; he mourns for the singer of undying songs is dead.

"For us the autumn glow the autumn flame
And soon the winter silence shall be ours
Him the eternal spring of fadeless fame
Crowns with no mortal flowers

Here are two passages culled from different poems on Shelley

'Who pre-eminently of men
Seemed nourished upon starbeams and the stuff
Of rainbows and the tempest and the foam '

* * *

The hectic flamelike rose of verse
All colour, and all odour, and all bloom
Steeped in the moonlight, glutted with the sun "

Here is a sentence on Keats

Great

With somewhat of glorious sunlessness

In the poem entitled 'In Laleham Churchyard', where Matthew Arnold is buried there is insufficient appreciation of his poetic achievement and inadequate criticism but the following lines are a fair summing up of his main gifts

And nigh to where his bones abide,
The Thames with its unruffled tide
Seems like his genius typified,—
Its strength its grace,
Its lucid gleam, its sober pride
Its tranquil peace'

Landon's 'Hellenics' he describes as

'the bland Attic skies
True mirrored by an English well'

On Burns

'A Shakespeare flashing o'er the whole
Of man's domain
The splendour of cloudless soul
And perfect brain'

And again :

“He came when poets had forgot
How rich and strange the human lot,
How warm the tints of Life ; how hot
Are Love and Hate ;
And what makes Truth divine, and what
Makes Manhood great
A dreamer of the common dreams,
A fisher in familiar streams,
He chased the transitory gleams
That all pursue ;
But on his lips the eternal themes
Again were new ”

There appeared in the 1893 edition of “*Lachrymae Musarum*” a bitter poem on Oscar Wilde, which Watson omitted from his “*Collected Poems*”. Here are four lines on him .

“And as for us—to our disgrace,
Your stricture’s truth must be conceded ,
Would any but a stupid race
Have made the fuss about you *we* did ?”

Another ungenerous poem appeared in the 1890 edition of “*Wordsworth’s Grave*” —an uncharitable attack on Ruskin

“Yes, you have carried, we are well aware,
Up to its highest point of cultivation,
The art of talking nonsense with an air
Of inspiration”

The epigram has not had a prosperous career in England, particularly in verse. Sir William Watson has written many excellent, pithy epigrams which have much of the effectiveness of those attributed to Martial. Indeed, one may look upon the epigram as Watson’s most successful lyric form. There is a large range of themes and invariably the style is distinctive. He tried to follow the view which he expresses in one of his critical essays that “*Passion plus self-restraint is the moral basis of the finest style.*” Of the achievement of the poet, of the discovery of poetic beauty in unexpected places, of the communication of loveliness to unpromising material, he says :

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The Poet gathers fruit from every tree,
 Yea grapes from thorns and figs from thistle he.
 Plucked by his hand, the barest weed that grows
 Towers to a lily, reddens to a rose.

On 'The Three Kinds of Song', he expresses his partiality for the kind that supplies nourishment both to the spirit and the mind, that satisfies the intellect as well as the heart, that is both thoughtful and emotional

"Song have I known that fed the soul,
 And Song that was liker a foaming bowl,
 But the Song that I account divine
 Is at once rare food and noble wine."

There are some bitter lines on modernist verse and specially on its formlessness, its deliberate defiance of metrical laws and the delight it takes in irregular patterns

I bought one day a book of rhyme
 One long, fierce flout at tune and time
 Ragged and jagged by intent
 As if each line were earthquake rent"

I may also draw attention to 'A Recipe—or hints on how to write poetry such as may please certain contemporary palates

Let metre eternally jump jolt and lurch.
 For infinite crudeness make infinite search
 So beware lest a line inadvertently scan
 And of course be as odd and as queer as you can.
 And write in fashion that makes men of sense
 At the mere name of Poetry, haste to fly hence.

Two epigrams more—both rather bitter in tone—may be quoted. The first is entitled, "Loves and Hates

I love the poet of cloudless ray,
 Love too the folded golden vapour,
 But hate the humbug who all day
 Serves up deliberate fog on paper

The other is addressed 'To a Successful Man

"Yes titles, and emoluments, and place,
 All tell the world that you have won life's race.
 But then 'twas your good fortune not to start
 Handicapped with a conscience or a heart"

A devoted disciple of Wordsworth, Watson learnt much from nature and specially celebrated the beauty of nature. There is no evidence that he learnt from it anything of moral evil and of good, nor that he read any philosophy into it. He is content to see and feel and drink in its beauteous sights and sounds, and sometimes find in them a reflection of his mood and a picture of the life of man. The following quatrain best illustrates his nature-poetry

“Spring, the low prelude of a lordlier song .
 Summer, music without hint of death :
 Autumn, a cadence lingeringly long .
 Winter, a pause,—the minstrel—year takes breath.

Here are some pretty lines to April :

“April, April,
 Laugh thy girlish laughter ,
 Then, the moment after,
 Weep thy girlish tears !
 April that mine ears
 Like a lover greetest,
 If I tell thee, sweetest,
 All my hopes and fears
 April, April,
 Laugh thy golden laughter,
 But, the moment after,
 Weep thy golden tears !”

In another poem he speaks of Nature “who never negligently yet fashioned an April violet” and “who suffers us pure form to see in a dead leaf’s anatomy” The contrast between man and nature is brought out in the poem entitled “The First Skylark of Spring”—evidently inspired by Shelley :

“We sing of Life, with stormy breath
 That shakes the lute’s distempered string .
 We sing of Love, and Loveless Death
 Takes up the song we sing.....
 But am fettered to the sod,
 And but forget my bonds an hour
 In amplitude of dreams a god,
 A slave in dearth of power.”

The same contrast is expressed in an epigram

'Toiling and yearning, tis man's doom to see
No perfect creature fashion'd of his hands
Insulted by a flower's immaculacy
And mock'd at by the flawless stars he stands'

In a different key is the poem 'The Lark and the Thrush'—reminiscent of Wordsworth's 'Lesser Celandine' and 'The Green Linnet'

'O from too far and from too high
In too pure air above,
Doth the great Rhapsodist of the sky
Utter melodious love.
Bird that from neighbouring tree does pour
Songs of less heavenly birth
'Tis thine thine that can pierce me more
Sweet Rhapsodist of the Earth

Both Shelley and Wordsworth have their share in the fashioning of the poem entitled 'Rejuvenescence'—the 'Immortality Ode' and 'The West Wind' must have suggested the underlying thought

The Day is young, the Day is sweet
And light is her heart as the tread of her feet
The Day is weary, the Day is old
She has sunk into sleep through a tempest of gold
Sleep, tired Day! Thou shalt rise made new,
All splendour and wonder and odour and dew"

I shall quote one more specimen of Watson's nature-poetry—a vivid and powerful word picture of a storm from the poem entitled 'Midst the Seas'

Many have sung of the terrors of the Storm
I will make me a song of its beauty its graces of hue and form -
A song of the loveliness gotten of Power
Born of Rage in her blackest hour,
When never a wave repeats another
But each is unlike his own twin brother
Each is himself from base to crown
Himself alone as he clambers up,

Himself alone as he crashes down ;
 When the whole sky drinks of the sea's mad cup
 And the ship is thrilled to her quivering core,
 But amidst her pitching, amidst her rolling,
 Amidst the clangour and boom and roar,
 Is a Spirit of Beauty all-controlling."

Watson took at one time, quite early in his career, a lively interest in politics. He was no supporter of Jingoism. He was a firm believer in the value of freedom for all races and not only for England. He passionately denounced all those who stood in the way of other nations attaining freedom. Naturally verse written as part of current political polemics can have but a transitory interest and can hardly be of any value once the ashes of controversy are cold. Watson did not raise any issues that are permanently engaging man's attention, this portion of his work is the one least likely to last. One of his collections, published in 1897, is entitled "The Year of Shame". He says .

"Never henceforth, O England, never more
 Prate thou of generous effort, righteous aim,
 Whose shame is that thou knowest not thy shame !"

In another poem, written "during estrangement", he says, "as architects of ruin we have no peers", and

'Redder from our red hoof-prints the wild rose
 Of freedom shall afresh hereafter spring "

In connexion with the South African War, he says

"Ah, not today is Nature on our side !
 The mountains and the rivers are our foe.
 And Nature with the heart of man allied
 Is hard to overthrow."

In "Harvest", he says .

"A naked people in captivity ,
 A land where Desolation hath her throne ,
 The wrath that is, the rage that is to be :
 'Our fruits, whereby we are known."

And in "The True Imperialism" :

• "Vain is your Science, vain your Art,
 Your triumphs and your glories vain,

To feed the hunger of their heart
And famine of their brain

In *Metamorphosis* ,

"Shouting her own applause, if haply so
She may shout down the hisses of the world

But this mood did not last long In the 'Ode on the Coronation of King Edward VII , he says

' Proudly, as fits a nation that hath now
So many dawns and sunsets on her brow,
This duteous heart we bring

Naturally, scattered over the pages of Watson's several books, are many pieces that deal with weightier matter, have a considerable ballast of thought and meditation, and touch the depths of life. There is no obligation for a lyric poet to be a philosopher. Indeed, should he lose himself in the mazes of divine philosophy however charming it might be, the less poet he ! But the best poetry is a combination of thought and fancy and melody. If we read Watson with care, we shall find him frequently expressing a mood of discontent with things as they are of deep dissatisfaction with the hard terms of human life, of despair that one must fret one's soul "with crosses and with cares". It is not the 'pale contented sort of discontent' of which Keats speaks in 'Lamia'. The following lines express the prevailing mood

' Man only, irked by calm, and rent
By each emotion's throes
Neither in passion finds content
Nor finds it in repose '

In another poem he states the same uncertainty about the nature of existence on earth

On from room to room I stray
Yet my Host can ne'er espy,
And I know not to this day
Whether guest or captive I '

The concluding stanza of the poem entitled "The Hope of the World" is in the same strain

Here where perhaps alone
I conquer or I fail

Here, o'er the dark Deep blown,
 I ask no perfumed gale,
 I ask the unpampering breath
 That fits me to endure
 Chance, and victorious Death,
 Life, and my doom obscure,
 Who know not whence I am sped, nor to what port I sail".

That some sorrow is inevitable and that luck consists in the number of errors one can avoid is the theme of the lines "To a Friend" :

"For they are blest that have not much to rue —
 That have not oft mis-heard the prompter's cue,
 Stammered and stumbled and the wrong parts played
 And life a Tragedy of Errors made".

The glory of the past and the brightness of the hope for the future sustains man's faith .

'And I count him wise,
 Who loves so well Man's noble memories
 He needs must love Man's nobler hopes yet more".

That is an expression of the nineteenth century creed of Progress which, in "A Death in the Desert", Browning says, is

"Man's distinctive mark alone,
 Not Gods' and not the beasts' ; God is, they are;
 Man partly is, and wholly hopes to be".

John Morley, looking back, in the evening of his days, to the period when he also shared passionately in this faith, asserted that Progress stands for a working belief that the modern world will never consent to do without. In the poem entitled "The Dream of Man", Watson also puts forward the view that struggle, effort, aspiration are what make life liveable. Man is shown in it as having conquered Death, but that gives him no satisfaction. Life without any necessity for conquest seems empty. At 'his dreadful zenith', he cries for help to God:

"And Deity paused and hearkened, then turned to the undivine,
 Saying, "O man, my creature, thy lot was more blest than Mine.
 I taste not delight of seeking, nor the boon of longing know.
 There is but one joy transcendent, and I hoard it not but bestow.
 I hoard it not nor have tasted, but freely I gave it to thee —
 The joy of most glorious striving, which dieth in victory".

I have mentioned earlier some of the brief criticisms of some men of letters which Watson has put into verse: a word may now be said of the volume which he called 'Excursions in Criticism', and which he described as 'the prose recreations of a rhymist'. It was published in 1897. Two critical dicta deserve to be specially noted. 'True criticism, when it approaches the work of the masters can never be quite cool—it is the critic's business to feel just as much as to see. And, secondly, 'There can be no doubt that style is the great antiseptic in literature—the most powerful preventive against decay.' Two other short sentences may be quoted—this on Saintsbury—'Mere ease of style often gets more credit than is its due. It is ease with power, or ease with splendour that is the valuable thing', and this on James Russell Lowell—'It is delightfully fresh and tonic with a certain saline shrewdness in it reminding us that it has come across the ocean'. But two more elaborate passages will illustrate the quality of his critical judgments and specially the earnestness which mark them. Writing of Burns he says

All Burns's qualities are on the great scale. Look at his humour. His laughter is no crackling of thorns under a pot, but a sheer blazing and roaring of piled up faggots of fun. It is the very riot and revelry of mirth: there is something demoniacal about this hilarity. Even the coarseness that goes with it hardly offends us—it is so manifestly and naturally of a piece with the utter licence and abandonment which this lord of literary nonsense has for the nonce decreed.

This of Ibsen

"He shows us little but the ugliness of things, the colour seems to fade out of the sunset, the perfume seems to perish from the rose in his presence. But if power and impressiveness are their own justification Ibsen is justified for whatever else he may or may not be he is powerful he is impressive. To those enthusiasts however who would place him on an equality with the greatest dramatists, sane and sober criticism can only reply. No—this narrow intensity of vision, this preoccupation with a part of existence is never the note of the masters: they deal with life—he deals only with death in life. They treat of society—he treats only of the rottenness of society. Their subject is human nature—his human disease."

Watson does not attain the eminence of the masters. He has not their spontaneity, nor their breadth and depth. But as one who upheld the dignity of


the Muses and strove to serve them assiduously, as a skilled craftsman, he holds a high place. As he says himself :

“Not mine the rich and showering hand, that strews
The facile largess of a stintless Muse.
A fitful presence, seldom tarrying long,
Capriciously she touches me to song
Then leaves me to lament her flight in vain,
And wonder will she ever come again”

A BIRD'S-EYE-VIEW OF ANCIENT INDIAN EDUCATION

By

DR. A. S. ALTEKAR

 In a volume which is intended to commemorate the distinguished services rendered by Dr Sachchidananda Sinha to the Patna University it will not be out of place to make a general survey of the features and achievements of Ancient Indian Education. We often forget that the history of ancient Indian education extends over several millenniums and its features were not always the same during this long period. What was true at one stage was not so at another. The absence of this correct knowledge, however often creates a wrong impression in the public mind. For the purposes of this survey, we shall therefore divide the ancient Indian history into four periods. The first one will be from prehistoric times to 1000 B. C. It may be conveniently described as the Vedic age, as most of the Vedic literature was composed during this period. The duration of the second period may be conveniently taken to be c. 1000 B. C. to c. 200 B. C. This age may be conveniently called the age of the Upanishads and the Sutras. The third period will be the one extending from c. 200 B. C. to c. 500 A. D. and can be described as the age of the Smritis. The fourth period will be taken to be the one extending from c. 500 A. D. to c. 1200 A. D. and may be called the age of the Puranas and Nibandhas. We shall now proceed to describe the condition and features of education as a whole in each of these periods.

THE AGE OF THE VEDAS.

This age marked the beginning of Indian culture, literature and science and so naturally not much striking progress was made in the different departments of knowledge. People of this age had however, a keen desire to make a rapid progress in the different departments of knowledge. They were convinced that it was the intellectual efficiency and equipment that was most essential for achieving progress in knowledge. It was emphasised that gods will be the friends only of those who are wise and learned. Those only were regarded as learned who could not only recite the texts of the books but could also interpret them. Every householder of the age therefore naturally regarded the education of his children as a sacred duty. No distinction was made in this connection between boys and girls, the education of both received the same attention at least upto the higher

stage. Ordinarily the guardian discharged his duty to teach his wards so regularly and successfully that no necessity was felt for a long time either for the professional teacher or for the public school.

Secular literature was yet to be developed and so the literary course was predominantly religious. People, however, had a free and open mind and were eager to explore new realms of knowledge. Great emphasis was laid on the proper development of debating powers; boys and girls who were successful in debates were highly honoured. Education, however, did not produce mere talkers; it produced men of action who managed to spread the Aryan culture in the country in a short time. The Aryan community was a compact one during this age, and so there was not much difference in the educational level of the different classes. Priests, however, used to specialise generally in literary and religious education. Warriors and agriculturists also received some literary education, but it was naturally not so deep or wide as that of priests or poets. They used to devote the greater part of their educational course in mastering the art of war or the processes of agriculture or the methods of arts and crafts. The followers of the latter were held in high esteem; some of them like Aśvins and the Ribhus were even deified. The educational system of the age was successful in forming character, developing personality, promoting the progress in the different branches of knowledge and achieving social efficiency and happiness.

THE UPANISHAD-SUTRA PERIOD. (c. 1000 B. C. to c. 200 B. C.)

This age can justly be regarded as the most creative period of Hindu culture and literature, art and sciences. The foundations of whatever is the most glorious in Hindu culture were laid down in this period. Metaphysics made remarkable progress, as is made evident by the Upanishads, and the Jain and Buddha systems; the foundation of almost all the later systems of philosophy were laid down in this age. Philology and grammar were well developed and the literary activity in the legal literature started. Speculations in the sphere of political thought were useful and original. Astronomy and mathematics, medicine and surgery, mining and metallurgy began to be cultivated and sculpture and architecture recorded remarkable progress, especially towards the end of the period. Effort was also made to popularise culture and knowledge by transforming the epic of the Bhārata war into an encyclopaedia of religion and ethics.

These manifold activities in the different spheres became possible because Indians had still an open, free and enquiring mind and were making strenuous efforts to extend the bounds of knowledge and to ensure its transmission to posterity.

With a view to enlist the help of society for this work Upanayana ritual was made obligatory for the whole Aryan community at about the beginning of this age. This gave a great impetus to the spread of both literary and higher education. As learning became more and more extensive in the course of time education in the family became impracticable and society began to encourage distinguished scholars to become regular teachers. They used to organise private schools for higher studies relying mainly on the voluntary contributions of students taking their advantage. Brahmacharya discipline was still vigorous, but towards the end of the period the marriageable age of the girls began to be gradually lowered which adversely affected female education. During the earlier part of the period however, there was no dearth of women philosophers and scholars some of whom used to organise schools and hostels for girls. Co-education, however was unknown. Majority of girls received their education at home as was the case with boys also during the earlier period. The educational system paid as much attention to the cultivation of the Vedic studies as to that of grammar and philology mathematics and astronomy, epics and legal literature. Professions became specialised towards the end of this period, and society began to feel that they should become hereditary in order to encourage further efficiency. The ordinary soldier and the agriculturist used however, to receive a fair amount of cultural education. The training imparted to the doctor and the sculptor was fairly efficient and practical and the average intelligence of the artisan was fairly high. The skilled worker was respected by society. Education was regarded as a serious proposition and society was anxious that its benefits should be extended to as large a class as possible. Various steps were being proposed and adopted to see that the students did not stop their studies at the end of their courses. The educational system continued to be successful in forming character building up personality extending the bounds of knowledge and preserving the heritage of the past. It undoubtedly promoted social happiness and efficiency. It enabled India to be the vanguard of the contemporary world and repel and subjugate the powerful Greek enemy.

THE AGE OF THE SMRITIS (c. 200 B. C. to 500 A. D.)

This may be described as the age of the critical reflection and specialisation. The achievements of the preceding creative period were critically examined and special systems like Sankhya and the Yoga the Nyaya and Vaisheshika the Vedanta and the Mahayana Buddhism were evolved. This undoubtedly marked considerable progress in critical thought. The creative vein was however, still active though in a less marked degree than before. Its activity was

particularly noteworthy in the realm of classical literature and sacred laws, painting and sculpture, mathematics and astronomy. A considerable part of the religious literature was now canonised, but Hindus had still an open, free and enquiring mind. Philosophical systems continued to be called orthodox though they had no place in them even for God. Heterodox systems like the Jainism and the Buddhism were studied by the Hindus and the theories and the dogmas of Hinduism were analysed by the Jains and the Buddhists. This led to considerable progress in logic and metaphysics. Greeks were no doubt regarded as unholy foreigners (*Mlechchhas*) but nevertheless their achievements in the realm of sculpture, coinage and astronomy, were carefully studied and assimilated, which led to considerable progress in all these sciences.

There was, however, a distinctive setback to the cause of education as a whole during this period. Child marriages became the order of the day towards its end and so female education suffered considerably. Only daughters of high class families received any education worth the name. The lowering of the marriageable age of girls naturally involved the lowering of the marriageable age of boys also. Brahmacharya discipline consequently became slack and nominal towards the end of the period. The educational system could produce only a limited number of young men possessing a developed personality, characterised by self-confidence and self-reliance. During this period, the Upanayana of Kshatriyas became a mere formality; this gave a severe blow to the general level of culture in these classes. This reduced the general efficiency of the sculptor and the weaver, the warrior and the agriculturist. The education of these classes began to become more and more narrow. The same defect arose in the course of time in general education also. There was too much specialisation in logic and philosophy, astronomy and mathematics; there was no broad-based secondary course education. The educational system was still able to promote social happiness and efficacy and secure the preservation and spread of national culture; it enabled society to absorb a number of foreign tribes whom it could not drive out by military force. Towards the end of this period the higher education of cultured classes received a great impetus by the rise of organised educational institutions. On account of the liberal support which these institutions received from the state and society, they were able to impart free education. Several colleges for higher education were started, which in the course of time began to attract students from abroad as well. The training in the practical sciences like sculpture and architecture, medicine and metallurgy was still very efficient, if somewhat narrow.

THE AGE OF THE PURANAS (c. 500 A D to 1200 A D)

India continued to enjoy the reputation of an international centre of education during this period also. Down to the end of the 9th century Chinese scholars used to flock in her eastern Universities, and her doctors used to be summoned to Baghdad to organise and supervise over the hospitals and to teach medicine to the students in the country. Education had not become mere book learning. Indian teachers used to excite the admiration of foreigners by their remarkable powers of explanation and exposition. Graduates of this period were remarkable for their mastery over Sanskrit, though it was no longer the spoken language. Facilities for higher education continued to be ample if with the decline of Buddhism the number of monastic colleges declined, the rise of the temple colleges more than compensated for the resulting loss. Brahmacharya discipline no doubt became nominal owing to early marriages even married students, however showed commendable perseverance in pursuing protracted courses of studies. Poor students continued to maintain themselves by begging, if necessary the number of teachers eager to follow the high code of the profession which enjoyed free tuition still continued to be large. Society's earnestness about education was still remarkable.

Though thus higher education prospered, the education of the masses suffered during the period. Upanayana now completely disappeared among the Kshatriyas and this gave a set back to their cultural education reduced the percentage of literacy among them and made their education narrow. Useful arts and professions began to be regarded as plebeian and were boycotted by the higher classes. As the services of the highest classes of society were no longer available for the development of arts and crafts, they ceased to make any progress worth the name. Growing orthodoxy of the age disapproved dissection and condemned agriculture on the ground that it involved the killing of insects at the time of ploughing. Medical education became less efficient, surgery went out of vogue and agriculture became a plebeian and neglected profession. The marriageable age of the girls was further lowered down during this age. Girls were ordinarily married at the age of 10 or 11 and this gave a death blow to female education. A few ladies no doubt appear as poetesses during the period they were, however exceptions rather than the rule. Education could not reach masses as the medium of higher education was Sanskrit which was no longer the spoken language. No serious and concerted effort was made to develop literature in vernaculars in order to facilitate the infiltration of knowledge to the masses. In the sphere of higher education specialisation was carried to too great an extreme, the logician the mathematician and the rhetorist, for instance, did not possess much knowledge

of the problems and achievements of one another. The preservation of ancient literature and culture was the main concern of the educational system ; it was unable to produce scholars who could substantially enrich it. The creative vein in the Hindu genius could still be seen in the realm of poetics, and to a less extent, in those of philosophy, literature and astronomy. It was, however, quite feeble as compared with its strength in the preceding ages. The situation deteriorated further by the growing self-conceitedness of the scholars of the age and their refusal to be benefitted by the knowledge and experiences of the outsider. They had no longer a free, open and an enquiring mind ; they would refuse to accept what was not in consonance with the views expressed in the sacred scriptures. This stood in the way of progress in the sciences like astronomy, medicine history and geography. During the mediaeval times great importance was attached by the Indian Pundits, as by Jesuitical scholars, to the cleverness and skill in merely wordy warfare; a person was hailed as a great scholar, if he could perceive distinction where none existed and silence his opponent by the display of the resources of a well-trained memory. Depth of scholarship thus often went unrecognised and shallow and unscrupulous persons could often pass as great scholars. The general state of affairs regarding education further deteriorated, during the period 1200—1800 A. D. owing to the growing impoverishment of the Hindu society and the withdrawal of the active state encouragement to its educational system during the period of Muslim ascendancy.

RECONSTRUCTION IN INDIA

By

(THE LATE) DR. BENI PRASAD

HERE is a soul of goodness in things evil. The world wars of 1914 and 1939 have served to draw attention to deep-seated maladies and maladjustments in the body politic and to stimulate plans of reconstruction. Many thinkers and statesmen, experts and administrators are busy with the shape of things to come and a new order of society is no longer a distant vision. It is worth while to glance at the multitudinous problems to which it gives rise to observe their inter-connection and to indicate broadly the lines of solution.

AGRICULTURAL IMPROVEMENT

It is impossible in any plan of reconstruction to lay too much emphasis on economic improvement, that is, on the abolition of the grinding poverty which has made the Indian peasant a by-word for a low standard of living. The average national income in India has been variously estimated—probably it stands somewhere in the neighbourhood of Rs. 65 per annum per capita. In any case it is low enough but the average for the agriculturists works out at only Rs 22/3. Nothing is more urgent than the modernisation of Indian agriculture and horticulture, improvement of the breed of cattle, consolidation or collectivisation of the present uneconomic holdings, immediate and statutory scaling down of long standing and oppressive debts, co-operative marketing and credit. It is equally necessary to enhance facilities for irrigation through wells, tube wells, anicuts, tanks and canals, to develop means of transport, to devise schemes of afforestation in order to prevent erosion of soil and to train the courses of rivers, specially in Bihar and Bengal and to eliminate devastating floods so far as possible. Reform of tenancy and inheritance laws are necessary to ensure to the primary cultivator the just share of the produce, adequate security, an incentive to continuous improvement, self respect and dignity in society. Landlordism has been a serious incubus on agricultural prosperity and calls for drastic revision. It is no less necessary to elicit the peasants' co-operation in their uplift by encouraging the growth of peasant unions. With proper planning and other improvements it would be easy to surmount the food shortage which at present keeps more than 70 millions below the margin of subsistence and exposes the most indigent among them to starvation in any emergency.

INDUSTRIALISATION

About 70 per cent of the people in India are at present engaged in agriculture. Mechanisation or rationalisation means a great saving of labour. Mechanisation

of agriculture would release a large number of tenants, specially of labourers from the land. It should be practicable to absorb them into industry—cottage industries as well as mechanised industries. Industrial expansion alone can relieve the pressure on the land. There is also a more weighty recommendation in its favour. With provision of adequate clothing, shelter, furniture, leisure and entertainment, facilities of travel and education to the entire population, it can transform the erstwhile economy of pain and toil into one of plenty and comfort. It is an essential ingredient of welfare economy to equip the country with an up-to-date system of transport and communication by road and rail, steamship and aeroplane, so that exchange of goods and services may be facilitated, cultural intercourse may be fastened and national solidarity may be promoted.

PLANNED ECONOMY

Here it is desirable to take stock of the devices of planned economy which have been tried with great success in Russia and elsewhere. It is intrinsically easier and at the same time much more necessary to plan the initiation or expansion of enterprises in a comparatively simple economy like that of India than to balance production and consumption in a highly developed economy like that of the United States. But the former entails difficulties of its own. On the one hand, it may be necessary to look to foreign countries for part of the initial capital outlay for heavy machinery and the services of experts. On the other hand, a backward country exposed to foreign competition, must join planning to an appropriate scale of customs duties and protection from foreign dumping.

Large-scale planning which involves plentiful borrowing and industrial regulation must be supported by an appropriate, expansion of currency and regulation of exchange. It may be necessary to revise the policy hitherto followed by Government of India in settlement of some of the outstanding points concerning the 1s 6d. ratio, the sterling exchange, the sterling balances and consuls, and the Indian public debt. Similarly, it is necessary to chalk out a banking policy in conformity with the changing requirements of indigenous agriculture, industry and commerce. Banking has to be socialised or brought under social control to finance large scale as well as cottage industry in accordance with national plans.

SOCIALISATION AND SOCIAL CONTROL

Recent experience, specially that acquired during the world wars of 1914 and 1939, has demonstrated not merely the desirability but also the feasibility of socialising the larger means of production and of establishing social control over the non-socialised industries. Socialisation and social control, regarded not as

ngid dogmas but as flexible modes of organising capital, labour and resources as well as of eliciting talent, judgment, initiative and public spirit can be applied to any branch of agriculture industry banking and transport in accordance with the exigencies of production, incidence of consumption, current of public opinion and standards of administration. The socialised and private sectors call for approximation to each other in regard to conditions of work pay amenities and insurance. Neither the one nor the other presents an automatic solution of the economic, much less of the social problem in its entirety. In socialised as well as in unsocialised works it is necessary to guarantee a minimum rate of wages as high as the industry can bear, prescribe something like a 40 hours week, provide for wholesome conditions of work housing and entertainment, inaugurate a nation wide scheme of insurance against sickness old age, unemployment and accident as part of the wider plan of establishing maximum and effective equality of opportunity for all citizens and of an equitable distribution of wealth leisure and education. Part of this programme is contingent on regulation of units of habitation in terms of personal development. One of the most urgent tasks of civilisation is to plan towns and villages, to limit the size of the former, wherever necessary, to clear existing slums and prevent the growth of new ones. Decentralisation of industry wherever possible, will considerably help in this direction.

FUNCTIONAL ORGANISATION

It is obvious enough that neither labourers nor peasants can depend entirely on the government for amelioration of their condition. They must combine among themselves, if they are to receive their due share of the social dividend and to exercise their pull on affairs. Trade unions and other functional organizations such as those of technicians and capitalists would also serve to suggest discuss and amend details of plans, to mediate their execution, to ventilate ideas and grievances foster a sense of dignity in the occupation in short, to supply the middle term between individualism and statism.

THE CO-OPERATIVE MOVEMENT

Another fruitful line of organisation is co-operative societies of producers and consumers for purchase and for credit for marketing and for better living. They will go a long way towards eliminating the evils incidental to private capitalism as well as to state capitalism.

COTTAGE INDUSTRIES

A more important move in the same direction is represented by cottage industries like spinning and weaving the manufacture of utensils furniture, toys;

paper, etc. The industrial revolution has often forced personality into unwholesome conformity to the exigencies of mass production and profit. It is desirable, especially in a warm climate like that of India, to adapt industry to the open spaces of the country-side and to the spirit of craftsmanship. It is now feasible to carry electric power to villages or small towns and enable them to produce many commodities for internal consumption and, may be, for export too. Small-scale industries engage about 15 million workers at present as against less than 2 million in large scale industries. But they admit of vast development and can furnish employment to an almost equal number of unemployed adults. This will also help the village or township to retain or regain the community character which is often lost by the destruction of local industries and the consequent emigration of talent and ambition.

HEALTH

Economic measures would in no small measure raise the standard of health and longevity in the country. They must, at the same time be supplemented by a deliberate plan for the eradication of malaria, cholera, small-pox, tuberculosis and the other ailments which take a heavy toll of life and lower the spirit and vitality of millions of sufferers. Recent scientific investigations confirm the common observation that the majority of the people are under-nourished and that their diet is rather unbalanced, especially in the eastern and southern parts of the country. It is absolutely necessary to introduce the requisite amount of calories and vitamins into the diet partly through increased consumption of vegetables, fruits and dairy products, to organize a campaign of hygiene and sanitation, to bring medical aid within the reach of all, through a network of dispensaries, hospitals, clinics, maternity homes and nursing homes. In the interest of physical as well as moral health, it is also necessary to encourage temperance, through local option or prohibition.

DIFFUSION OF EDUCATION

It is obvious that agricultural improvement, industrial planning and expansion, co-operation, trade unionism, and a high standard of health, dignity and self-respect can be sustained only by universal education. Ignorance and illiteracy chain the population to a low plane of living, neutralise the effect of any reforms imposed from above, induce an attitude of helplessness and open the way to exploitation and oppression by holders of land, credit and office. Education, free and universal, not merely upto the primary but up to the secondary stage, supplemented by adequate facilities for technical instruction, by university education and by adult

education is indispensable to the acceleration and durability of any reform and to the moral growth of the society. It is germane to stress that education produces its best effects not when it progresses as in India from one miserable percentage to another but when it is rapidly universalised as in modern Russia and Turkey.

QUALITY OF EDUCATION

While the quantitative aspect is extremely important it is impossible to forget that much depends on the quality of instruction. Ever since Macaulay penned his famous minute more than a hundred years ago, Indian education has been haphazard in growth lacking in social direction and outlook. It is time that it should not only be brought abreast of the latest researches in child psychology and of methods of learning through manual training on a basis of coordination of the various sciences and arts but should also be integrated with the cultural milieu and spiritual aspirations of the people. There must be education not for a small minority or training for a limited sphere of activity, but for the entire population and for the conduct of life as a whole. Universal education and economic amelioration contain the substance of a solution of the problems of the aborigines and the depressed classes, though they also call for other supplementary measures.

POLITICAL REFORM

It has lately been estimated that free and compulsory primary education in India would cost about 300 crores of rupees a year. Higher and technical education would mean a considerable addition to the amount. But a generation inured to astronomical sums of war finance is likely to discover ways and means of defraying high expenditure not only on education but also on public health, social insurance and other services. The initial outlay on them all as well as economic plans can be met by borrowing, enhanced taxation, proceeds of socialised enterprise and a light inflation. Thereafter expenditure can be balanced entirely by the increased national dividend. High taxation however called for a degree of courage and public support which are possible only to a government based on general consent and enthusiastic allegiance. Such a government is also indispensable to the mobilisation of political talent, and public spirit for the service of the community. Apart from these practical exigencies, it is clear that political freedom is essential to that national self respect which sustains all concerted endeavour and to the national morale which rises equal to any external danger. National freedom would enable the country to pull its weight in

international peace conferences, and in international institutions--cultural, economic, juridical and political. National freedom may incline the world to better appreciation of the ethical and spiritual ideals which a long line of thinkers have worked out in India.

THE WELFARE STATE.

Indeed, no discussion on India's future can proceed far without reaching the conclusion that the country needs a government deriving its vitality from the people devoted to the good of the people and responsible to the opinion of the people. A bureaucratic administration, controlled by the British Government, six thousand miles away without any knowledge of Indian conditions and without any obligation to foster Indian welfare, errs necessarily on the side of "safety first", restricts itself to a few and elementary functions, provokes disaffection and alienates popular sympathies by repression. Such a negative government must in the logic of progress be replaced by the positive government appropriate to a welfare state, actively and untiringly fostering culture and prosperity. The organization, adequate to the purposes of a welfare state raises all the problems of authority, liberty, public opinion, of relations of the expert and the amateur of checks and balances; of modes of representation at the centre, in the provinces, in the Indian States, in districts, municipalities and the villages.

ADMINISTRATIVE REFORM

In the first place, it is desirable to organize a thorough going system of local self-government from the village or the town to the tahsil or the taluka, right up to the district, functioning under provincial statutes, advice and, where necessary, supervision and control. In the second place, the central and provincial administrations, their branches or sections as well as the divisional and district administrations should be associated with a series of Advisory Councils, nominated so as to comprise experts on the subjects in question, spokesmen of the interests affected and some representatives of the general public. These bodies may be distinct from any standing committees; of the Legislature or elective boards and may constitute bridges between the standpoints of the bureaucracy on the one hand and those of the public or its various sections on the other. In the third place, the administrative and technical services, central and provincial, and also those under district and municipal boards should, for the most part, be recruited on a basis of open competitive examinations and tests conducted by a gradation of non-political Public Services Commissions. Fourthly, schools of regular training should be established for recruits to the Central, Provincial and Local Boards Services.

EXECUTIVE COMMISSIONS

The political executive may be associated with a Planning Commission consisting partly of experts and partly of nominated spokesmen of vocational associations and working whenever necessary, through committees. A National Investment Board should be charged with the function of assisting through loans and purchase of shares agricultural and industrial enterprise in consonance with the national plans as finally approved. It may derive its resources from Government savings banks, the public share in the profits of subsidized enterprises and from loans. It would also work in collaboration with the Central Bank and through it, with the other joint-stock banks to ensure that adequate capital at reasonable rates of interest was forthcoming for agricultural and industrial development. Similarly, boards can be established for the management of the tariff railways and means of transport, forestry etc. Their operations would be subject to parliamentary scrutiny in connexion with the grant of supplies and appropriations. They would function within the limits of statutory enactments and their members, mostly experts appointed by the executive, would be removable before the expiry of their normal term, on the presentation of an address by the legislature. But subject to these provisos they would enjoy a large measure of autonomy and lift numerous questions from the heat of party strife to the dispassionate atmosphere of scientific investigation. They would integrate themselves with the administrative tradition and soon gain a position analogous to that which public services commissions already occupy in some countries. They would relieve the political executive as well as the ordinary permanent officials of a vast amount of work for which they are not usually fit. They would not only represent the principle of science in government but would also make for expedition of business.

SOCIAL ATTITUDES

Large scale reform, political, administrative, educational and economic demands a corresponding sense of social justice, a practical recognition of the infinite worth of personality, a living faith in spiritual values, a ceaseless endeavour to incorporate those values into everyday life and social organisation. It implies the abolition of privileges and disabilities based on accident of birth, effective and maximum equality of opportunity to all, respect for the rights of minorities, freedom of religious belief, worship, language, literature and culture to all, equality before the law, equality in political rights and tolerance of differences. *Inter alia*, it implies equality of status between men and women, and appropriate amendment in laws on marriage, divorce, property and inheritance. Success in socialisation

and in economic planning depends largely on the substitution of social service and co-operation for motives of individual profit and power.

IMMEDIATE START

Economic improvement, educational advance, political reorganisation, social justice, moral and spiritual endeavour are inter-dependent and correlated aspects of a single programme of human welfare which should forthwith be taken in hand and should not be postponed. There is a tremendous lag in Indian development; reform and reorganisation have long been overdue and the lee-way should be made up as quickly as possible.


PROBLEMS

Every aspect of the programme briefly indicated above raises a multitude of problems, of their attitude, adjustment, organization and correlation. A close study of them from the practical point of view will represent a contribution towards the much needed association of knowledge with public affairs.

GAUTAMA BUDDHA AND BIHAR

By

THE HON'BLE DR. KAILASH NATH KATJU

ANY places and tracts of land in India are renowned in Indian history by their special sanctity. Mathura, Vrindavan, Dwarka and Ayodhya arouse our religious fervour because of their association with Shri Krishna and Ram Chandra. None with a soul so dead whose blood does not begin to course more rapidly in his veins when he treads the ground of Chitor hallowed by the blood of innumerable heroes and martyrs and thinks of the valiant deeds of heroism and sacrifice wrought there by brave men and women who preferred death to dishonour and subjugation and to whom a free Chitor was dearer than their life. North Bihar is to me particularly sacred ground. It is associated with two of the greatest religious teachers of all time and the greatest Emperor of all nations and countries. There was preached the noble and excellent doctrine of non violence by Gautam Buddha and Mahavir. And there reigned Emperor Ashoka who deliberately forsook war and violence as an instrument of national policy and preferred victories of Dharma and peace and goodwill among men over conquests of lands and seas by slaughter of innocent men, women and children.

Gautam Buddha preached the eternal truth of non violence and non injury to all living beings for over fifty years travelling up and down in North Bihar. Every town and village in that tract is in the Buddhist annals hallowed by the touch of the feet of the Master. Every place in the eyes of the devout has its own significance because of some particular discourse preached there by the Buddha. For a thousand years Buddhism flourished in India. It travelled beyond the confines of India, north and south, east and west. The faith conquered the hearts of people of many lands notably the Chinese and the Japanese. But strangely enough thereafter in the land of its birth it became almost an alien religion. But better times are ahead and I rejoice at equalise all signs of reviving interest in Buddhism in India. During the last 120 years mankind has become rich beyond compare by the recovery from oblivion of those noble edicts, breathing universal love and sympathy left by Emperor Ashoka on imperishable rocks and stones so that they might endure for ages. History of mankind does not record any messages so humane, so direct and so penetrating by their sincerity and benevolence. The voice of Ashoka has transgressed all limits of time and goes straight

to our heart. It is but fitting and proper that we in India should reverently remember and worship the great teacher who gave mankind the healing message of love and non-injury 2,500 years ago. The temple of peace called the Mulgandha Vihar at Sarnath grips my imagination strangely. I fancy I see before me the noble figure of the Master as he turned the wheel of the law for the first time in the Deer Park, and can there be anything more calculated to touch the imagination than the young Banyan tree, so vigorous and green, by that Vihar which takes us back directly through its ancestry to the famous tree in Ceylon and the great Bodhi tree in Bodh Gaya where Buddha silently meditated and discovered the root of all evil for all time. The world had been lately in the throes of a global war and unbridled violence held the field. It is only proper and in keeping with the traditions of this ancient land that once again here in India the old message of non-violence and non-violent resistance to all evil should be preached by the greatest living moral teacher of the world.

It is sometimes said that Buddhism was in some way responsible for the emasculation of the Hindu race and for the loss of the freedom of India and its subjugation by foreign invaders. I do not share that view. I think the reasons for our decay were wholly different. Buddhism and the noble doctrine of non-injury preached by Buddha had nothing to do with our fall. It is said that the Buddhist doctrines made men timid and unheroic. That is a complete misunderstanding of the whole of the Buddhist teaching. Gautama Buddha knew not fear and he taught mankind to banish fear, become absolutely fearless and to return evil by good. That is the lesson that humanity in these days of tremendous upheaval is painfully learning, the lesson that force and violence and bloodshed lead nowhere and settle nothing. Hatred begets hatred and each war has in itself the seeds of another, still more terrible. The other day, Mr. Churchill described the flying rockets which Germans sent over England and he said that each rocket had at least a ton of high explosives, shot up in the stratosphere 50 or 60 miles above the earth, travelled at a speed of 3000 miles per hour, and when it struck the ground it had a flying speed of 2000 miles per hour. This is the advance of science. This is how the machine-monster has overwhelmed and overpowered mankind. The atomic bomb had appeared almost at the fag end of the war. The next war will begin with atomic bomb and goodness only knows with what terrible weapons it will end. It is dawning upon all nations that if the human race wishes to survive, then non-violence and non-co-operation with evil are the only panacea for all the ills to which our species is exposed. Whatever advance we may have made in the realms of science and material well-being during the last 2,500 years, it is sad to

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think that in matters, spiritual and moral, we have made no progress at all. Scratch the thin veneer of the so-called modern civilisation and you find the savage and the brute and the beast still unconquered within us.

In the interest of humanity at large I wish that the teaching of Buddha—the noble four fold truths and the eight fold path—should become a living and effective force in the guidance of our life, individual as well as national and collective. Let us in India make an effort to bring back the Buddha to his native land once again. Legend says that he passed many years of his life in Rajgir and Viashali and when at last he saw old age creeping over him he decided to undertake his last journey toward Kapilavastu. He passed through a place on the bank of the Ganges where strong fortifications and forts were being constructed by the order of the Emperor Ajatshatru. On enquiry he was informed that the Maharaja was founding a city and a fort at that place. The legend says that Buddha with sadness and pity and commiseration in his eyes, said that the city under construction would be liable to shocks of earthquake and to fire and that its people would be prone to quarrel among themselves. That place subsequently came to be known as Pataliputra. Pataliputra has passed through great vicissitudes of time. It has seen great dynasties and empires rise and fall. It has been the scene of much glory and splendour, much damage and devastation. The prophecy of Buddha has been repeatedly fulfilled to the letter. The turning wheel of time has once again brought prosperity and good fortune to Patna. It has become the seat of a Provincial Government. It can take pride in many noble edifices and its leading citizens are well known all over the land. And one of them is Dr Sachchidananda Sinha whom the contributors to this volume have gathered to honour. The contribution of Dr Sinha to the fame of Patna as a seat of learning has been great and distinctive. He has enriched the town with a magnificent library. I suggest that the most appropriate method of commemorating the services of Dr Sinha to the province of Bihar would be to equip that library with a complete collection of books on Buddha and Buddhism. The Patna museum has a unique collection of Buddhist sculpture and it would be fitting if Patna had also a complete collection of books on Buddha. I do not know whether any public library in India contains a suitable collection of books on Buddha and Buddhism, but of all places in India Bihar is the province and Patna is the city, which should have a library of Buddhist literature and a more worthy house for such a noble library cannot be conceived than the Sachchidananda Sinha Library at Patna.



Dr B Sinha as a witness before the Joint Parliamentary Committee (1933)

THE STUDY OF ZOOLOGY AND VETERINARY SCIENCE IN MEDIAEVAL INDIA.

By

DR. K. K. BASU, M. A., PH. D.



ZOOLOGY and veterinary science were not altogether unknown in mediaeval India. Animals were domesticated, trained and well cared for in those days. Works on animal pathology were not uncommon.

"The prudent people", says the author of the *Sirat-i-Firoz Shahi*¹, a work written in the fourteenth century, "are aware of the art of seizing and keeping animals. They can diagnose their maladies and heal them. The beasts of forest and birds, such as lions, deer, hares, hawks, ducks and kites are domesticated and trained. Some of the birds can be made to speak like men and some made to serve as messengers. Trained animals display wonderful feats of skill. Birds fly high up the heavens and come back near their trainers."

Stories are related of Firoz Tughlak, the Delhi Emperor, who took keen interest in his pets. It is narrated how the Emperor once recognised one of his falcons that had been stolen from his aviary a year before and again brought to his court by an individual as a royal present. For the purpose of satisfying the curiosity of his scrupulous courtiers by producing an infallible evidence in his favour he asked the new-comer to let the bird go. To the surprise of all present, the bird came near the Emperor and perched on his hand.

In addition to his qualifications as a sportsman, Emperor Firoz Tughlak was well-known for his interest in his pets and for his expert knowledge of animal diseases. There was hardly any animal or bird that he had not bagged or domesticated. He could not only find out what ailment a particular animal suffered from but could also suggest a remedy for the troubles. The book named *Shikarnamah-i-Firoz Shahi* is said to have been written at the dictation of Firoz Shah. Mainly a book on sports, it also deals with the animal kingdom and its pathology. Unfortunately, however, the said work is now lost but if the search for the book is prosecuted and if there is ever a discovery of the work, it may throw a valuable light on the subject of zoology and veterinary science and reveal the progress which the two branches of science had made in Mediaeval India.

The *Shikarnamah* describes the method of seizing and training hawks and falcons of every species. It relates the nativity of the birds and gives their physical characteristics. It discusses their colour and other peculiarities, the

places where they generally build their nests, their method of giving birth and rearing up their young, it describes the manner and mode of protection offered to the young against the enemies by the parent bird and the nature of food supplied by the latter to the former it lays down how the falcons are to be taught to attack the prey which species of falcons are to be placed on the hands and what are the signs and characteristics of a good falcon

The *Shikarnamah*, as we have already observed deals with the animal pathology and the remedy for animal ailments. It deals with the diseases of the falcons in the head, eyes, ears and beak the maladies they suffer from in the spring and other seasons such as catarrh, swelling of talons, dry scab or wound and the like

It further provides remedies to diseases of leopards and dogs both young and old, such as, scabs, abscess, sore in the anus distortion of limbs, troubles of the eyes and the neck, cough diphtheria cholera worms, cold in the lungs etc. It states which part of the country supplies excellent dogs for the hunting purposes and what are the characteristics of such dogs. It deals with the symptoms of the diseases of the dogs and suggests medicines in cases of hard breathing, diseases due to heat and cold scab, and diseases of the head and throat.

With regard to the season or time best suited to purposes of hunting, the animals and birds have been divided in the said work into four categories according to the influence of the governing planet constituting the sign of the Zodiac on the animals. The animals that are influenced by Aries possess nails and are carnivorous. Persons desirous of hunting these animals should avail themselves of the time when the moon is in the Aries. Leo and Sagittarius have similar properties like the Aries. Animals that are influenced by the planet Cancer live under water such as fish crocodile crab and tortoise. Some of their species live on land as well. For purposes of hunting such animals people should set out on their enterprise when the Moon enters the planet Cancer. Scorpio and Pisces are the two other planets that bear similar properties like the Cancer. Again, animals that bear connection with and are influenced by the planet Virgo generally live on grass and have bisected hoofs. The time when the Moon enters Taurus is deemed propitious for hunting such animals. Taurus and Capricornus possess similar properties like the Virgo.

Gemini, Libra and Aquarius have similar properties. Animals that are influenced by these planets move on wings. When the Moon moves to Libra the feathered vertebrates should be bagged.

MY IMPRESSIONS OF AFGHANISTAN

DR. HADI HASAN

CONTRARY to popular opinion, the one word that represents Afghanistan in all its phases and aspects is PROGRESS : it is true there are no railways but there is also no National Debt and no unemployment ; no multi-millionaires but also no slums ; no race-courses but also no suicides. The National Constitution is the simplest : the provinces elect their deputies and the deputies, their president—the President of the National Assembly: both His late Majesty and His Majesty, the ruling sovereign, were elected by unanimous voice of Afghanistan, expressed through her accredited representatives—can limited Monarchy go farther? The royal charter guarantees the incorruptibility of Afghan officials, the teetotalism of Afghan nationals, universal equality of rights and privileges (without distinction of caste or creed), the continuance of friendly relations with foreign powers, the maintenance of law and order, the security of the subjects, the tranquillity of the kingdom : these are not idle words but actual and positive facts ; the police is smart ; the army, well-disciplined , the king, the shepherd of his flock. Whilst in other countries cabinets come and go, the Cabinet of His late Majesty still goes on in Afghanistan, enjoying the fullest confidence of the King and his people. Who could have thought that to take a lesson in political stability one could profitably turn to Afghanistan ? His late Majesty Muhammad Nadir Shah, the Ghazi, the martyr, was appropriately styled by his beloved subjects: “the Saviour of the Country, the Defender of the Faith, the Preserver of National Independence, the Restorer of the Memories of the Glorious Past, the Lover of Education and Progress, the Patron of Culture and Civilization”—titles which have passed to his son, His Majesty Muhammad Zahir Shah, who, young in years, mature in judgement, has already proved by his actions that he is pre-eminently the greatest of the sons of Afghanistan. Of his king-becoming graces, I shall not speak, lest my words be construed as flattery, but here is the text of the inviolate, the inviolable vow of His Majesty before the highest assembly in the land, the National Assembly of Afghanistan : “By God and the Holy Quran we promise that in all our acts and actions. facing God the Creator, we shall strive to preserve the religion of Islam, the independence of Afghanistan, the rights of the people, the constitution of the Motherland, and shall promote the progress and prosperity of the country”.

II

I saw Afghanistan under the best of conditions as a royal guest and in the charming and fascinating company of the late Sir Muhammad Iqbal the late Sir Ross Masood and Moulana Sulaiman Nadvi. This was in October 1933 during the reign of His Late Majesty Muhammad Nadir Shah the Ghazi the martyr. Leaving Peshawar by car about eleven in the morning, we reached the Frontier shortly after noon. "It is dangerous to cross the Frontier," says a notice on the Indo-Afghan frontier but I found it the safest of crossings. A wooden pole cuts India off from Afghanistan a child could lift this pole, actually it was lifted by two big burly frontier Indians who insisted on re-examining the passports which had been stamped a few yards away, almost in their presence. On this side of the frontier, the road is tarred and metalled on the other side there is neither tar nor metal but the continuous stream of traffic has pulverized the stones and the car moved on without jar or jerk to its haven under the hill.

Afghanistan is a mountainous country this is not an original idea nor did I have to go to Afghanistan to discover that the country was mountainous but I did have to go to Afghanistan to discover that the mountains were bare and bleak of vegetation. Over and across and around the mountains, goes the motor road now like and, more often like an S and Z till it comes to a valley and there nestling in the cup of a valley, lies an Afghan town. Then once again the mountains once more a valley and another Afghan town. Here and there for some twenty miles or so, the ground is flat, but flat is not the epithet that denotes Afghanistan. The country is rugged, steep and high and the inhabitants like the country high and lofty alike in their vision and stature. Keen is the air of Afghanistan but keener is the eye of the Afghan.

Peaks and cones like pins and needles the mountain stream like a thread of silver visions of the golden journey raised by the long strings of camels the opal of the sky melting into the turquoise of the dusk, we had barely time to take tea at Dakka before we were speeding along on the road to Jalalabad. It was late at night that we reached the royal palace, lying in the celebrated garden of Babur an enormous building marble-floored with the basements converted into barracks and the upper floor of some 30 rooms thrown open to accommodate 4 Indian guests. Everything in Afghanistan is on an enormous scale but there is no scale to measure the hospitality of the Afghan.

Leaving Jalalabad at dawn we reached Kabul the same evening. Representatives of the Government and the Kabul Academy had arranged a reception in a summer pavilion that stands some five miles away from the capital myriads of

electric lights, bunches of grapes, bowls of melon—the melons that Babur was unable to get in India, being too delicate to be transported—these remain imprinted upon my mind. Afghanistan is the Switzerland of Asia ; and when a railway is constructed, Kabul will be the tourists' paradise.

The best view of Kabul is obtained from Babur's garden : above everything else, the Mughals loved gardens and running water ; and for his love of running water and gardens, Babur was a Mughal par excellence. He sleeps in his garden under the vault of heaven, the blue of the sky mingling with the blue of lapis-lazuli, which marks his tomb. Adjoining is a miniature "Pearl Mosque", the marble mosque of Shah Jehan, but the roof has obviously been renovated and it becomes a royal mosque built in commemoration of the conquest of Balkh and Badakhshan. Standing in this mosque, with tears in my eyes, "out of India and still in India", thought I—for such was the magnitude of the Mughal Empire.

Modern Kabul is ultra-modern : the Darul-Aman avenue is rightly claimed to be the longest boulevard in Asia, and it is easily as wide as the main boulevards of Paris. The Museum contains archaeological relics from Bamyan, Tappah-i-Khazaneh, Maranjan and elsewhere ; further, there are over a score of factories in the capital of lapis-lazuli, sulphur, paper, sugar, woollens, boots, buttons, furniture and carpet-manufacture ; one fine example of an Iranian carpet woven by students of the School of Arts and Crafts was presented by His Late Majesty to the Muslim University, Aligarh. Arts, Science, Military Science, Agriculture, Medicine, Surgery, Technology are taught in Persian with English, French or German as a second language in the various colleges—Arabic College, Military College, Medical College, Agricultural College, Training College, the Habibiyyah, Istiqlal, Nejat etc. For higher scientific and technical studies, Afghan students are sent to Europe, Japan and America. Petrol has been discovered in Herat : the fields have been located ; the oil analyzed, and economic exploitation of the fields is only awaiting the mobilization of internal capital. Like the cry of "Safety First", the slogan of Afghanistan is 'consolidation before expansion.'

In 1933, the scars of Bachche-i-Saqqā's Civil War were still visible : what the present regime has, therefore, effected borders almost on the marvellous. It has not merely converted the old order to new, but has evolved new order out of old confusion. Their Royal Highnesses Sardar Hashim Khan and Shah Mahmud Khan, the Premier and the War Minister respectively, are men of genius : slow of speech, quick of action, and withal, humble, unassuming, extra-ordinarily

human His Excellency Faiz Muhammad Khan, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, was then also officiating as the Education Minister like a modern Nizamul Mulk who whilst controlling the foreign affairs of Alp Arstan and Malikshah, was creating schools and colleges, a University in Nishahpur, another in Baghdad Afghanistan is supposed to be rich in mineral wealth (there are mines of silver copper, lead, coal, etc., apart from the world's supply of lapis-lazuli which comes from Afghanistan) but she is richer in the intellectual wealth of her sons take for example, Sayyid Jamaluddin Afghani, who died within living memory and left a shining furrow like a streak of lightning in the minds of all Muslims from Kabul to Cairo Paris to Tehran If I am asked to name two outstanding qualities of the Afghans I would say Sincerity and Patriotism And these qualities are not in inverse ratio to worldly status on the contrary the nobler the Afghan, the greater his sincerity and patriotism The late king, we know, was a saint and he died a martyr

The king met us in his Kabul Palace "for once" I thought 'the original is like the photograph', for he was the very picture of his pictures He was a linguist and spoke English, French Urdu Persian Pushtoo Arabic, with equal fluency his dream of a Kabul University has not yet materialized but his love for Aligarh is attested by the generous grant of Rs. 3 600 per annum which the Muslim University receives from His Majesty Muhammad Zahir Shah

The intellectual life of young Afghanistan is focussed in the Kabul Academy Persian is the medium for debates lectures papers publications The Kabul Magazine has a high literary standard and its annual number registers the cultural political and administrative achievements of the country

With its gardens and natural fountains Paghman is to Kabul what Qulhak is to Tehran To give the effect of this summer winter capital in Indian terms Simla would have to be shifted to Delhi

And so, after a week of crowded life we started on the return journey via Ghazna and Qandahar

They say the lion and the lizard keep
The courts where Jamshid gloried and drank deep
And Bahram, the great hunter the wild ass,
Stamps o'er his head and he lies fast asleep

Ghazna, the Imperial City of Sultan Mahmud, was sacked and burnt by

'Alauddin Ghuri, Jehan-suz' in 1149; there remains, therefore, only the tomb of the great conqueror, with its covered dome and marble sarcophagus; but even this is easily out-rivalled by the enormous cenotaph in syenite marble of Sultan Mahmud's Court-Poet, Firdausi, recently erected at Tus, in the environs of Meshhed. According to the current story, Sultan Mahmud promised the poet one gold piece for each couplet of the Shahnamah; whereupon the poet produced 60,000 couplets; who could have thought the old man to have had so much blood in him? Those were the days of the golden age of Islamic learning, when for example, alchemists were engaged in the transmutation of metals, and though they failed in converting quicksilver into gold, they succeeded in establishing the important proposition that chemical actions were reversible, and the Sultan, curiously, succeeded in the reverse process of converting gold, quickly, very quickly, into silver. Sixty thousand silver pieces were accordingly conveyed to Firdausi, and he distributed this amount in tips and went into voluntary retirement at Tus. Eventually, indigo worth 60,000 gold pieces was sent to Tus but even as the treasure caravan entered the Rudbar gate, the corpse of Firdausi was being borne forth from the gate of Razan.

Sanai, the great mystic poet, also sleeps in Ghazna. "I do not desire wealth and worldly goods", sang he when he was living, "I merely desire the intellectual eminence of Avicenna." And I could not help feeling, as I stood at his tomb, how completely the desire had been realized.

Qandahar, the bone of contention between Mughal India and Safawi Iran, no longer retains its celebrated fortress before which stood the armies of Prince Aurangzeb and the Emperor Shah Jehan. There is the tomb of Ahmad Shah Abdali; there is also the Royal Palace, the largest of royal palaces in Afghanistan. But the main object of interest is the Rock of Qandahar which rises like a needle and overlooks the city. The final ascent is made by steps cut into the rock, and the peak is hollowed out into a chamber, the rock-hewn picnic-pavilion of Mughal Emperors. Here they sat and ate the grapes, melons, and pomegranates of Qandahar; and here sits the tourist today to lament over the ephemerality of human greatness.

There is much in Afghanistan to interest both the traveller and the historian; but the supreme glory of Afghanistan is the Afghan "speaking in deeds, and deedless in his tongue; his heart and hand both open and both free, for what he has he gives."

THE FUTURE OF UNIVERSITY EDUCATION

By

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THE war that had been raging in Europe has shaken our complacency as a nation. We have been trying our best to correct our perspective and revise our ideas, beliefs and habits of thinking in various spheres of life. It is not merely the preoccupations of the present post war emergency which now hold our attention. We have begun to think of the shape of the things to come. A New Order is no longer a piece of abstraction which has been imported from the West—it is a rallying point for all of us. However divided we might be otherwise. We are trying to look ahead in every sphere of life and we are determined to face the future however black, with courage and unshackled by attachment to systems of thought and action to which we have grown accustomed. It is worth while speculating at this juncture on the future of University education in this country. There is a good deal of complacency in our attitude to University education and at the same time there is much loose and fallacious thinking that bars our approach to the problem of higher education in India. I propose to touch upon a few issues which are germane to the solution of this problem.

It is very commonly supposed that University education stands self-condemned to-day. The products of our Universities it is said are poor specimens of a hybrid culture which is remote alike from reality and from the needs and impulses of our national life. A great many of our University students do not imbibe anything at all. They acquire a superficial veneer which is mistaken for culture and pass out of the portals of a University to face a life of frustration and even starvation. Since the education that they receive is academic and essentially literary they are unfitted for manual work and useful vocations, and cannot generally occupy any other positions except those reserved for automatic brain workers. Thus the products of our Universities grow up neither as productive units nor as efficient members of society. All this implies a tremendous waste of intellectual and moral energy which could be harnessed to productive activities but which given a certain atmosphere tend to flow into channels of

subversive activity. What perhaps is worse, according to critics, is that University education accentuates class differences and widens the gulf between the so-called intellectuals and the so-called lower classes who form the mass of the population. Apart from everything else, University education on Western lines is too expensive for a poor country; and if it is a choice between University education and primary education, a truly democratic country knows at once what its rational choice should be.

It is not generally known that such ideas and opinions have gone beyond the stage of academic controversy. Mahatma Gandhi, originator of the famous Wardha scheme of education, has given a definite lead to public opinion in the matter of University education. He recommends that "higher education should be left to private enterprise and for meeting national requirements whether in the various industries, technical arts, *belles-lettres* or fine arts. The State Universities should be purely examining bodies, self-supporting through the fees charged for examinations. Universities will look after the whole field of education and prepare and approve courses of studies in the various departments of education University charters should be given liberally to any body of persons of proved worth and integrity, it being always understood that the Universities will not cost the State anything except that it will bear the cost of running a Central Education Department. The foregoing scheme does not absolve the State from running such Seminaries as may be required for supplying State needs." Thus, according to Mahatma Gandhi, higher education, including University education, is not a social necessity urgent enough to require the help and guidance of the State. So far as it is a luxury, its cost should be borne by private enterprise and philanthropy. So far as it has a utilitarian character, as in the case of applied science and technology, it should be left to be subsidised and exploited by trade industry.

Since these revolutionary ideas carry the weight of Mahatma's personality and very well form the education plank in the programme of the Congress Governments in the near future, they come within the range of practical politics and as such should claim the earnest attention of educationists.

A basic fact which should not be missed in this controversy is that University education or, for that matter, higher education of the right type, has not had a fair trial in our country. Higher education has had a bad odour about it because of its historical associations. Its origin is to be found in the need for an "educated" class which was essential for running the British administration in this

country The narrow minded view taken of higher education at the initial stage and lack of adequate finance perhaps explain its lop-sided growth At the same time, lack of economic vigour, enterprise and initiative absence of an industrial atmosphere and slow economic development have contributed towards making higher education stereotyped and largely infructuous Higher education of the Western type is still at an immature and experimental stage and cannot be said to have had a long past Hence we should be lacking in sense of proportion if we condemn it as something which is so outworn that it should be discarded

I should like to comment briefly on the recommendations of Mahatma Gandhi. I think that the most fundamental point raised by him is that higher education is not a social necessity important enough to come within the scope of the beneficent activities of the State. Those who have been thinking in terms of the new order are too conscious of the fact that the State must do all it can to sustain the centres of free thought and culture represented by Universities in the present crisis of civilization The Universities must be the nurseries of a new civilization. They must stand for values which cannot be wiped out by force and aggression This is the reason why in all occupied countries University teachers and students boldly faced the savage brutality and repression of the Nazi regime and had to be crushed before the political hold of that regime could be securely established We hear the same story in China where Universities have stood for national regeneration and culture. Even the Nazis understood that no conquest was safe unless it was based on cultural domination, and we used to hear of attempts at intensive propaganda in favour of German culture in the realm of Opera and music in all occupied countries Hence University education of the right type is a great social necessity particularly at the present time and increased State expenditure on Universities is more urgent now than perhaps at any other period in human history

It is obvious that the Universities I have in mind must be teaching Universities which are centres of free thought and culture and exist for advancement of learning To suggest that State Universities should be purely examining bodies self supporting through the fees charged for examinations is to misconceive the true purpose of Universities which the State should foster Again the suggestion that private corporations should be chartered to carry on University education is fantastic Is it seriously suggested that private monopolistic enterprise should be permitted to support itself financially by means of examination fees? I am aware that in the case of at least one big Indian University the income from examination fees is a great help in financing post graduate teaching I

also admit that most Indian Universities have depended too much on State aid and have attracted too little of public endowment. But to suggest that higher education should depend precariously and entirely on individual charity and individual enterprise and that Universities should exist as mere examining bodies is really going to extremes. A University will be an examining body, but not merely so. It will certainly attract public endowment ; but it cannot always depend on that alone. There is room for individual initiative in the development of a University; but it should not depend only on the whims of enthusiasts some of whom may in fact be cranks, charlatans, adventurers and careerists. Moreover, the suggestion that applied science and technology should develop, not under the fostering care of Universities, but under the patronage of Big Business and Big Industry is based on a serious misconception of the role which Science is going to play in the near future in the building up of a new civilization. The root cause of the malaise of modern civilization is the exploitation of applied science and technology by power politics and by Big Business and Big Industry, so that Science has not been allowed to serve a truly social purpose. It is in an atmosphere of detachment in State Universities that Science will have a chance of fulfilling its mission and its social function. On the other hand, if the Scientist degenerates into the lackey of the Capitalist he is likely to cause greater havoc and misery till civilization is completely eclipsed by barbarism.

BENGAL AND BIHAR

By

DR R. C. MAJUMDAR

THE constitution of Bihar (with Orissa) as a separate province from Bengal in 1912 marks the end of a long and close association between these two territorial units. In view of the gradual estrangement between the two peoples that has followed in the wake of the political separation it would perhaps be of some interest to make a historical review of the various bonds that united them since time immemorial.

We may begin with the political unity. Our definite knowledge of the history of Eastern India begins with the account of Alexander's invasion. According to classical accounts the two nations Prasii and Gangadai, who occupied respectively Bihar and Bengal formed a close political association. The king of the Prasii and the Gangadai is referred to by some ancient writers as the king of Gangadai and sometimes the two peoples are represented as one nation called the Gangadai. In spite of minor discrepancies in the classical accounts it may be regarded as almost certain that there was a close political tie between the peoples of Bengal and Bihar, and even if they did not owe allegiance to the same monarch they made a common cause against Alexander.

The exact status of Bengal in the Maurya empire is not known to us with certainty but there are good grounds to believe that the Gupta kingdom since the very beginning comprised a portion of Bengal and Bihar. This kingdom grew into a powerful empire embracing a large part of Northern India but even in its later decadent days a portion of Bengal formed an integral part of the Gupta kingdom. Early in the seventh century A.D. Sasanka the king of Gauda ruled over both Bengal and Bihar. Under the Pala rulers of Bengal Bihar and Bengal formed integral parts of a kingdom for nearly four hundred years. The Senas of Bengal maintained this unity to a large extent and an era associated with Lakshmanasena was used all over Bihar and is still in use in its northern parts. It is interesting to note that the cities like Pataliputra (Patna) and Mudgagiri (Monghyr) formed favourite places of residences of the Pala kings and a Sanskrit text of this period even refers to Champa (near Bhagalpur) as the capital of

Gauda. It may also be added that more than three-fourths of the records of the Pala kings of Bengal have been within the precincts of Bihar.

The Pala kings of Bengal were the great patrons of Buddhism and their kingdom comprising Bihar and Bengal formed the last refuge of that great religion when it lost its hold over the rest of India. This formed another close tie between Bihar and Bengal during the four centuries of Pala rule from 750 to 1150 A.D. The famous monasteries of Nalanda and Vikramasila in Bihar flourished under the patronage of the Pala rulers, and were closely associated with great monasteries like Jagaddala and Somapuri in N. Bengal. Famous Buddhist teachers Silabhadra and Dipankara of E. Bengal also shed lustre respectively on Nalanda and Vikramasila, and the Tibetan Texts have preserved the names of numerous other teachers of both Bihar and Bengal who not only maintained the high traditions of Buddhism in India but also carried them to Tibet and other foreign countries.

Art formed another tie between Bengal and Bihar. Of the various schools of art that arose in different parts of India after the downfall of the Guptas, there was one that flourished in Bengal and Bihar. It is difficult, if not impossible, to classify the products of this school on regional basis, and the same characteristics that marked the fundamental unity of the art of Bihar and Bengal from the eighth to the twelfth century A.D. also distinguished it from those in the rest of India.

The linguistic association between Bengal and Bihar is no less remarkable. With the gradual Aryanisation of Magadha and Bengal, the same form of Aryan language became the common speech of the two peoples. The Bengali language was evolved out of forms of late Magadhi Prakrit or Magadhi *apabhramsa* as spoken during the period 600—1000 A.D. and it was not till after this period that we have, what may be properly called, a Bengali Vernacular.

It will thus be seen that almost throughout the ancient period, Bengal and Bihar were indissolubly connected with political and cultural associations. This unity was kept up during the Muslim period, and it was not a mere accident that Bengal and Bihar formed parts of one and the same Subah of the Mughal empire. The Mughal tradition continued during the British rule down to the beginning of the present century, and even though the political connection has ceased, the large number of Bengali speaking people within the limits of Bihar testifies to the old association. The growing cleavage in recent years between the Biharis and the Bengalis constitutes a serious problem and the restoration of happy relations between them is a matter of considerable importance in the interests of both the communities. A proper understanding of the historical relations between the two peoples would perhaps contribute, in howsoever small a degree, to the solution of the problem which is growing acute from day to day.

WORDSWORTH'S LETTERS

By

N K SIDDHANTA

When embarking on a comprehensive study of Wordsworth's letters one has to face two serious difficulties which have to be noted at the outset. First the most interesting letters belong to the period before 1810 when his creative powers were most vigorous and during this period they are intermingled with the correspondence of his inseparable companion his sister Dorothy. "Many of his letters are composite ones, partly the work of the sister and partly his own and in numerous cases more of the poet is revealed through Dorothy's letters than through his own. This brings us to the second difficulty which has been noted by Wordsworth's biographers. These letters are marked by gravity fullness of front, and a direct reference to first principles but he does not seem to have revealed in them his innermost feelings. We find in his poems a sincere expression of his real self, we find him unlocking his heart in conversation with his sister or chosen friends but rarely in the letters which have survived and been published. The impression might have been different if we had all his letters to his sister and to Colendge but in the absence of these we are left with a feeling of disappointment after a perusal of all his correspondence.

We begin our survey with noting the young Wordsworth's love of Nature in describing his travels to Dorothy in 1790. "It was with regret that we passed every turn of this charming path where every new picture was purchased by the loss of another which we would never have been tired of gazing at. The shores of the lake consist of steep, covered with large sweeping woods of chestnut spotted with villages some clinging from the summits of the advancing rocks and others hiding themselves within their recesses. Nor was the surface of the lake less interesting than its shores part of it glowing with the richest green and gold the reflection of the illuminated woods and part shaded with a soft blue tint. After all this we had the moon. It was impossible not to contrast that repose that complacency of spirit produced by these lovely scenes with the sensations I had experienced in passing the Alps.

In the letters of the next few years beyond the ordinary commonplaces of information and comment we find him reflecting on the French Revolution and on

Life and Manners. In 1794 he is planning the publication of a periodical and describing the scheme in a letter to Maltheus : "Each number should open with a topic of general politics. Here it will be proper to give a perspicuous statement of the most important occurrences, not overburthened with trite reflections, yet accompanied with such remarks as may forcibly illustrate the tendency of particular doctrines of government. Next should follow essays upon Morals" etc., The scheme in itself is of no interest to us but we are eager to obtain materials for reconstructing this formative period of the poet's life and his correspondence is of some help to us.

The poet's letters from Alfoxden and Racedown are, on the whole, disappointing, Dorothy's being far fuller and enabling us to form a more vivid picture of their life during this period. In one of the letters from Alfoxden early in 1798 Wordsworth speaks of his projected confession and reflection in verse which later developed into the *Prelude*, *The Excursion* and *The Recluse*: "I have 1300 lines of a poem in which I contrive to convey most of the knowledge of which I am possessed. My object is to give pictures of nature, man and society. Indeed I know not anything which will not come within the scope of my plan." We hear of plans of a tour in Germany in company with the Coleridges but of the most momentous event of the year we have a bald mention in a communication of Dorothy on 13th September: "(William's poems) are printed, but not published. (They are) in one small volume, without the name of the author, their title is 'Lyrical Ballads, with other Poems'. Cottle has given thirty guineas for William's share of the volume."

The first letter to Coleridge is from Goslar in December, '98 or January, '99 and is a joint composition though it is all in Dorothy's hand. The interesting part of the letter is not in intimate communication but over a hundred lines of verse with the first draft of some of the Lucy poems. The next letter to Coleridge has some illuminating critical comments on a variety of literary topics, on Lessing and Shenstone, on Burger and Theocritus, on Burns and himself, but if we want intimate self-revelation we turn to the portion of the letter written by Dorothy discussing German brandy and Goslar peasants, Burgomasters and sausages. The letter from Grasmere written a few months later is much fuller and goes beyond pure literary discussion. There is a beautiful piece of landscape painting on which one would like to linger : "twas a beautiful morning with driving snow-showers that disappeared by fits, and unveiled the east which was one delicious pale orange colour. A sweet little valley opened before us, with an area of grassy ground, and a stream dashing over various lamina of black rocks close under a

bank covered with firs. The bank and stream on our left, another woody bank on our right, and the flat meadow in front from which, as at Buttermere, the stream had retired as it were to hide itself under the shade. We were tempted to look back perpetually on the brook which reflected the orange light of the morning among the gloomy rocks with a lightness varying according to the agitation of the current. (A water fall) appeared to throw itself in a narrow line from a lofty wall of rock, the water seeming from the extreme height of the fall to be dispersed before it reached the bason, into a thin shower of snow that was tossed about like snow blown from the roof of a house. On the summit of the cave were three festoons or rather wrinkles in the rock which ran parallel to each other like the folds of a curtain when it is drawn up, each of them was hung with icicles of various length and nearly in the middle of the festoons the stream shot from between the rows of icicles in irregular fits of strength and with a body of water that momentarily varied. Above the highest point of the water fall large fleecy clouds drove over our heads and the rocks on each side which joining with the sides of the cave, formed the vista of the brook were chequered with three diminutive water falls or rather veins of water each of which was a miniature of all that summer and winter can produce of a delicate beauty. One is tempted to continue, for such an elaborate piece of Natural description is found only on occasions and may be compared with the well known passages of verse in his Nature Poems.

An interesting letter of 1801 is addressed to Charles James Fox whom Wordsworth had so far known only by reputation and here Wordsworth explains his position in the composition of poems like *The Brothers* and *Michael*. Had our task been to discuss Wordsworth's treatment of mystic life we would have some materials from passages in letters of this type. But we would rather linger on the intimate details of letters written to a brother or to Mary Hutchinson of which we have not too many. The first of these written to the latter is a joint composition of Dorothy and William and William's contribution is chiefly a few stanzas on "Lucy, Dorothy's correspondence with her being usually more revealing

On the matter of Wordsworth's theories about poetry there is a passage in a letter (1802) to Wilson, a Windermere friend which cannot be neglected. "You begin what you say upon *The Idiot Boy* with this observation that nothing is a fit subject for poetry which does not please. But here follows a question does not please whom? Some have little knowledge of natural imagery of any kind and, of course little relish for it some are disgusted with the very mention of the words 'pastoral poetry' sheep or shepherds, some cannot tolerate a poem with

any ghost or any supernatural agency in it ; others would shrink from an animated description of the pleasures of love, as from a thing carnal and libidinous , some cannot bear to see delicate and refined feelings ascribed to men in low conditions of society, because their vanity and self-love tell them that these belong only to themselves and men like themselves in dress, station and way of life ; others are disgusted with the naked language of some of the most interesting passions of men because it is indelicate, or gross. Some take no interest in the description of a particular passion or quality, as love of solitariness, genial activity of fancy, love of nature, religion, and so forth, because they have nothing of it in themselves. I return then to the question, please whom ? Or what ? I answer : by stripping our own hearts naked, and by looking out of ourselves to (men) who lead the simplest lives and those most according to nature ; men who have never known false refinements, wayward and artificial desires, false criticisms, effeminate habits of thinking and feeling ” A passage like this helps us to understand the thesis of the preface to the Lyrical Ballads and may be taken as part of Wordsworth's critical creed, but we do not come to a poet's correspondence simply to gather materials for literary criticism.

Some of Wordsworth's letters to literary contemporaries, e. g., those to De Quincey or Scott, are, however, less formal and reserved and this in spite of the fact that friendship with them was of comparatively recent growth. Towards the end of 1803 Wordsworth started a correspondence with Sir George Beaumont, a connoisseur and patron of the fine arts, and some of his longest letters during the next few years were addressed to Beaumont. In February 1805, Wordsworth's brother, John, was drowned and his letters written immediately after this tragedy are profoundly affecting and show more of Wordsworth's domestic affections than anywhere else. The letters written at this time to Beaumont, Southey and others reveal Wordsworth's deepest feelings of grief and they are exceptional among Wordsworth's letters in the intensity of self-revelation. Nothing can be more touching than a passage like this: "I can say nothing higher of my ever-dear Brother that he was worthy of his sister, who is now weeping beside me, and of the friendship of Coleridge, meek, affectionate, silently enthusiastic, loving all quiet things... I shall do all in my power to sustain my sister under her sorrow, which is, and long will be, bitter and poignant. We did not love him as a brother merely..... We have had no tidings of Coleridge. I tremble for the moment when he is to hear of my brother's death, it will distress him to the heart,—and his poor body cannot bear sorrow."


This personal note is absent again from later letters and while we can always collect crumbs of literary wisdom or satisfy our curiosity about the personal relations

between literary celebrities of the time we cannot obtain the proper pleasure of self-revelation from many of them. The little touch (in a letter to Coleridge) of a visit to the Lambs with a Ms. and his refusal to read it as Hazlitt was there is piquant but there are not too many of such references and we search in vain for details about the breach with Coleridge though Dorothy gives us some information. It is the same reticence that characterises the correspondence of all his later years and it is with a feeling of considerable disappointment that we come to the last of these epistles and feel that he who had attempted to reveal his inner self through thousands of lines of confessional verse has not chosen to take his interlocutors into confidence while penning the most informal epistles to friends, colleagues and patrons.

NEW WRITING

By

DIWAN CHAND SHARMA

 R. C. E. M. Joad, in his autobiography, discusses the problem of reading and says that he reads books of three kinds, those which keep him up-to-date, those which he has to review, and the classics to which he goes back again and again for they are such a source of abiding delight. It is not every reader of books who can make such a happy balance between these different kinds of reading, though every student has to read a few books in order to keep abreast of the recent knowledge relating to the subject of his choice. Impelled by this desire, I wanted to make, what Oliver Elton calls, an enjoying, reading acquaintance with the writers of the New Writing school. But, somehow, my attempts always failed. I have, however, a faith that if a book is once bought it gets automatically read in a reasonably short period of time. This has worked well in many cases but even though I bought the various volumes of *New Writing* I could not develop that patience and ardour which could have made me finish them. I was, however, able to acquire the right amount of zest during my last visit to Kashmir

Generally when I go out on a holiday I forecast my moods so far as reading is concerned, and try to provide for them adequately. I did the same with regard to my recent holiday in Kashmir. But I found all the books I took with me without any personal and immediate appeal. I, therefore, looked for some new reading matter and luckily I came upon *New Writing in Europe* by John Lehmann (Pelican Books), and this gripped my attention beyond all measure. It is true it is a book of criticism, but the criticism is not academic or high-brow. It is, in a way, more like a travel book for it describes the adventures of an alert, sympathetic and imaginative critic amongst some of the books written during the last decade. To this task Mr. Lehmann brings not only a first-hand acquaintance with the books but also with the writers and this makes for the freshness of his impressions and comments. It must not, however, be understood that being too near the scene described he is not able to show a correct perspective. It is the one thing that one notices more than anything else in this book, which is a happy combination of sympathy and judiciousness. While on the one hand the writer is not too critical of this group of new writers as a conventional critic might be, on the other hand he is not too enthusiastic about them as a zealous partisan might be. He avoids both these pitfalls by the

breadth of his sympathies and by the discriminating nature of his praise. In the first place, he believes that this movement is not confined to one country or continent but embraces at least two continents—those of Europe and Asia though only parts of Asia such as China and India. Secondly, he believes that this movement gives expression to the deep urges and desires, disappointments and humiliations that man today all over the world is feeling. It is in a way an expression of the mood which has been induced in writers by the ever-changing political and social scene during the last ten years. This mood is however not merely negative and destructive and the writer does not merely grope, in the dark for the virtues of life. He sometimes does get glimpses of the positive truth and registers it in his poems, plays, novels and what is called 'reportage'. The movement is therefore, at once a reaction against the writers of the Twenties and a renaissance of the spirit. While, in this way it links us up with the past, it describes also the present and here and there anticipates the future. The whole movement is therefore viewed as a historical process. Nor is it to be forgotten that it has achieved a few worthwhile things in the matter of the attitude of the writer to the public, his attitude towards his style and his general outlook on life. So far as the attitude to the public is concerned it should be understood that he uses the word in the widest possible sense. The public does not consist merely of the elite with refined tastes and a large amount of leisure but also of those who toil with their hands and find the struggle for existence so hard. In this way the writer comes to the market place, the pit of a coal mine, a corn-field or the courtyard of a factory to get an audience for himself. Thus he writes not for a minority but for the people in general. So far as his attitude to his style is concerned he does not care for learned obscurity, rich allusiveness, courtly elegance or elaborate ornamentation. He wants that his writings should approximate to the speech of the day. It should come as near to the spoken word as possible and should eschew all kinds of artifice of style. With regard to the outlook on life it is enough to say that the writer is characterised by humanity.

It will be urged by some that most of the writing of this school is propaganda or journalism or reporting, or that most of it is valuable as social or contemporary history. But this is not entirely true. The writers of this school are abnormally sensitive to the political and social scene but underneath all their pictures of the contemporary scene their chief concern is with Man and his destiny. All these are creditable achievements. Mr Lehmann himself says:

Many of the poems and stories and novels of the writers in Great Britain and the European countries with which I have been dealing may lose their appeal and seem trivial or second-rate when the intensity of the events with

which they were so closely connected has faded from men's minds ; these writers will be measured against the needs of a new generation which may have undergone stresses far greater than those of the 'twenties and 'thirties ; and against the nature of writers to come. Nevertheless, I feel certain that a great deal will survive, if any literature survives the storms which are raging in the world at the moment , for the best that was written, the best poems, for instance, of Auden and Spender and Barker, the best stories of Isherwood and Chamson, the best novels of Malraux and Silone are permeated by one feeling above all others : humanity. And all have a fundamental message, the message Wilfred Owen found twenty years ago in a gulf as deep and terrible as that in which we now find ourselves : that the pure flame of life is what matters, wheresoever and howsoever it manifests itself, and that through all our sufferings we discover again that it is the brotherhood of men, and not the superficial difference dividing them, which is the most important, the terrifyingly beautiful thing in life. (*New Writing in Europe* Vol. I page 151.)

This is enough to show how vital the significance of these writers is. The message of the brotherhood of man may appear sloppy and sentimental to some, but it is a message that, in spite of political chaos, social anarchy and economic conflicts needs to be emphasised again and again.

Another thing that must be said about this book in all fairness is that it does not dull or deaden one's interest in the books commented upon, but kindles a great desire to go back to them if one has already read them, or to study them if one has not already gone through them. It may not, however, be possible to read all the books listed at the back of this extremely lively book of interpretation. But no student of literature, or for the matter of that no educated person, should be so uninformed as not to be familiar with some of the works of Stephen Spender, Auden, Day Lewis among the poets, Christopher Isherwood and Edward Upward among the novelists, the group of dramatists writing for the Unity Theatre and the Group Theatre and many others especially working-class writers. Nor should one plead ignorance of the works of Andre Chamson and Andre Malraux among the French writers, or with Silone amongst the Italians, Bert Brecht amongst the Germans, Mikhail Sholokhov amongst the Russians, and Mulk Raj Anand amongst the Indians. It is not necessary to specify the outstanding books by these writers though it may not be irrelevant to emphasise the unity of aim and method, which all these writers, drawn from so many countries and from so many layers of society, share together.

Even if it is not possible to read "*The Creators*" by Auden and "*From Feathers to Iron*" by Day Lewis, "*Goodbye to Berlin*" by Isherwood, "*The Trial of*

a Judge' by Stephen Spender 'The Storm In Shanghai' by Andre Malraus, and the 'Burmese Days' by George Orwell, one should at least go through the volumes of the Penguin New Writing which are available in India at 6d each. These which are to be published every month will be found to be a treasure-house of readable matter which is at once informing and stimulating. All kinds of writers contribute to these volumes and show the rich variety and the increasing interestingness of this literary movement. Besides stories and sketches there are poems and literary criticism. All these poets and writers show in varying degrees the characteristics of this movement as already described. For instance Mulk Raj Anand writes about the "The Barbers' Trade Union" with a knowledge that is intimate but with a humour that is often forced. Coming as I do from a village in the Punjab, I can fully realize the sympathetic understanding and the knowledge of detail that have gone into the making of this sketch. In my own village too I have seen a barber giving up the peripatetic practice of his craft and taking to the establishment of a saloon though I must say the transition has not been as dramatic as that of Chandoo in Mr Anand's story. Still one cannot deny that in this sketch one finds a vivid glimpse of the caste-prejudice of the people and of their distrust of every kind of innovation. More than this it gives a picture of life as boys in the Punjab village find it and live it. One of the impressions that one gets from reading this story is that Mr Anand, driven to write in a foreign tongue lacks like many others in a similar situation that naturalness and ease which his comrades belonging to Europe possess in an eminent degree.

'Along the Yunnan-Burma Road' by Pal Ping-Chai is another delightful sketch which gives a very intimate picture of the toiling millions of China. The Chinese labourers who built the Yunnan Burma Road come to life here with all their patience, their industry their age-long weaknesses their sense of humour and their dread of officials. One sees in this brief but telling piece the attitude of a Chinese working man towards life and his great interest in religious ceremonial and military pomp. But over and above this one glimpses the patriotic fervour of these persons who while building this road are building, as it were a new line of defence for their country. The old man in the story beautifully puts it while administering a sharp rebuke to those who are guilty of the proverbial Chinese inefficiency —

"These times do not allow us to make such mistakes," he continues. "Our resistance is also carried on in the rear. Think of the thousands of our compatriots who are fighting at the fronts! How then can anyone dream of

personal power, or personal glory ? Every drop of your sweat means that a stronger barrier has been erected to protect the life of our nation ! I'm also a workman, a coolie and the same as you ! ”

Stephen Spender writes penetratingly about “*Books in the War*” in which he discusses some of the worthwhile books published recently. In one of his essays he shows how modern literature is obsessed with the problem of time. He traces its obsession from Proust and James Joyce to Aldous Huxley, Virginia Woolf, T. S. Eliot and J. B. Priestley. Then with a retrospective glance he shows how Shakespeare too was faced with the same problem in *Macbeth*. It is a difficult, rather abstruse, piece of criticism though Stephen Spender writes with a great deal of clarity of expression.

It should, however, be remembered that it is not merely authors of well-established reputation that write for this publication. This journal, like the movement, always welcomes new recruits and we have in one of the volumes a sketch by B. L. Coombes, son of a small farmer who has worked for the most part of his life in the mines of South Wales, in which he gives the life of a miner in Wales.

These volumes are full of so many good things that it is not possible to do justice to all of them. One thing is, however, clear that the movement can be especially worth a great deal to Indian writers. Instead of describing the antique glories of India or the social conflicts and political tensions of the day, they can learn to describe the everyday life of the people. I hope some writers after reading these volumes will be fired by a zeal to do something of the kind.

CULTURE AND POLITICS

By

D P MUKHERJI

To write for the Sinha Volume is to write on the relation between culture and politics. Mr Sachchidananda Sinha's appeal to a large number of people chiefly consists in certain values that gain flavour because of their apologetic existence to-day. Like disappearing works of art, they only enhance our preference by their variety. Men of his type whose ordinary talk is a course in culture and a common act of grace do no longer get the high lights of publicity. But they do not represent something that we can ill afford to ignore if we propose to fulfil our destiny as a civilisation.

The relation between culture and Indian politics has passed through a number of stages in the last hundred years. Men like Rajah Rammohan and Ranade were not active politicians as we understand them. Yet political concepts and behaviours issued from their attitudes. Possessing sure knowledge of India's heritage, they invested it productively in the contemporary enterprise of continental understanding. They created the tradition of a cultural synthesis in which political emancipation was a constituent part. If it were not the whole of it, the reason was the persistence of certain basic convictions which were the gifts of the situation. One was about the nature of the Indo-British connection. Great Britain had come to India with the message of a vigorous West in all the dignity of its assertion of the place of the individual in society and in all the splendour of the achievements of a rational outlook. If the British were the conquerors the sin could be cancelled by the equivalent sin of our societal worthlessness of our superstitious beliefs and of our incapacity for organisation. On the whole however the game was to exploit the virtues of the West in return for British occupation of India. The stress was on our duties and not on our rights. In this context, the imbibing of national spirit and the cultivation of a protestant individualism become the cardinal virtue of cultured existence.

Gradually, however the emphasis shifted. The next generation lost the sense of heritage and weaned themselves away from India's past. In their flight from shame they flew into the arms of politics. They started organisations to combat the charge of disability to combine and brought out the Indian National

Congress. But the spirit remained individualistic as ever. The teeth of contradiction were therefore sought to be blunted by the newly discovered instrument of Reason. Reason has a reputation of being a fine tool ; but our fathers meant differently. It was not analysis, but compromise which they took to be reason's main quality. Balance in judgement and toleration in conduct were the individual counterparts of political moderation. The religion of compromise pervaded social life. The lawyer who would confound the British judge by his subtle arguments and ruthlessly followed them to their extreme end would accept without question the silliest absurdities of western modes and manners ; the journalist who would evade the rigours of law by clever stratagems would dance attendance at levees ; and the radical religious reformer would be the most ardent supporter of British rule. The idea was that life demanded compromise, that society consisted of groups, each having quarantine laws of its own, though on the other hand, India was a part of the world, the frontal lobe of which was western Europe with England as its cerebrum. An attitude like this determined the culture-type of the elite of the second generation of Indo-British contactors. It made for the acquisition of information, of 'gentlemanly' habits, for a certain feeling of class-superiority, and for the cult of humanism. In short, Liberalism was born. Its strong points were the practice of reason and toleration, the spirit of non-conformity and the regard for human beings as such.

Yet, the new spirit was intrinsically weak. It owed no account to the Indian legacy, it lacked that faith in the transcendental values which had activated Indian humanism in the past, it did not possess inside knowledge of the social forces which were pushing Europe into downward paths. Being a purely professional class dependent on the Indo-British axis, the new generation could only move around it. They aped the Victorian manners in the blessed ignorance of the two facts of Victorian culture—that its solidity was broad—based upon a genuine middle class that had grown out of the folds of landed interests, and that it had a vicious centre within. So the need was felt to restore the equilibrium of the Indian middle classes. Indologists brought us pride in our past, prophets spoke of eternal verities, philanthropy was annexed to religion, and petitions were filed to the Government to remedy the evils of spreading unemployment among the English educated. This period of Indian culture is known as Renaissance.

Renaissance has a view of life of its own. It does not envisage life as a collection of separate small compartments. It makes bold to take it whole. The results are happier ; knowledge becomes encyclopaedic ; culture gets humanised while humanism is spiritualised ; the sense of historical continuity links up the present

with the past progress takes the place of compromise and applied science fortifies faith in human perfectability. Still one may doubt how far this comprehensiveness is synthetic. During renaissance the status of the individual is further raised but the uplift may have little to do with any upheaval in social consciousness. For ought we know the leaders of renaissance may remain oblivious of their roots. Some may even think that there will be darkness beneath the lighted lamp. If others are more conscious than the rest, they conquer their prejudice against their vernaculars and cultivate them with zeal. Other roots still remain dry, and great minds continue as orchids in their derivative functionings. The social economy of renaissance is often a chapter of general squalor, mental destitution and moral pauperism. If the number of Indian Casanovas is small we have to thank the persistent Indian traditions for that. If simultaneously the number of Savants is also small, we can force it to the dear habit of knowledgeable persons in India to turn wise early in their career. If again poverty continued to gnaw well then the reason is not nonhuman transcendental, "British drain" as Naoroji and Dutt proclaimed of just providential, as all and sundry believed. Obviously Indian renaissance was non intellectual, non moral and non social. Thus Indian politics had no theoretical back ground of its own because Indian scholarship was usually poor and its momentum was soon exhausted in begging exercises. The good augury was that Indian leaders were not satisfied with the performance of duties towards the British Government but began to talk of rights. In fact, from this period, politics began to engross the total personality of Indian leaders. From pre-occupation to absorption was an easy step. The cult of rights vis a vis the British government also pushed the skeleton of the average man, the one who tills the soil, sits on the prow and holds the helm deeper and deeper into the cupboard. Class divergence was completed.

Tagore came and gave a new orientation to the relation between politics and culture. For him politics was subsidiary to culture and culture was personalistic. So long it had been individualistic. But the individual was an up-rooted being, and his cult of rights was a forced dichotomy. On the other hand, the person was social and had his first responsibility towards himself living in and working through the group. So Tagore asked the people of India to attend to their heritage and thus equipped to assimilate the strength of the west. False nationalism he deprecated as strongly as he condemned British betrayal of western gifts to India. Mother-tongue and rural reconstruction were his sociology and co-operation was his economics. Self-dependence was his method as world order was his object. He laid the axe at the root of the University-bred intellectualism.

and connected morals with expanded activities. For the first time in modern Indian history, culture became a synthesis and its relation to politics was organic.

Gandhiji's appearance is a notable event in Indian history. Being a university man I do not appreciate his under-estimating of knowledge. But as an Indian who happens to have dealings with social sciences I cannot but say that he has supplied to culture what it has so long lacked. Tagore had no doubt pointed out the deficiency and stressed the need of self-help. But in the first place his message, shorn as it was of Indian trappings, could not reach the Indian masses. Secondly, it was concerned with Life as such. But Life is not always religious and it is less interesting than living. Gandhiji kept religion with culture and introduced the business of living into morality. Thus it was that Gandhiji's message has gone further than Tagore's into the social strata. Of course, the two were not delivered concurrently, and Gandhiji has reaped the benefit of later times. Yet, there is a difference in emphasis. Gandhiji's message for culture is mainly ethical. His ideas of truth and non-violence, his technique of Satyagraha would not make it otherwise. Probably, Gandhiji's insistence on morality has had the effect of moralising politics without contributing to culture, in which case, the correct statement would be that Gandhiji stands more for human civilisation than for personal culture. That may explain why none of his movements produced good music, tolerable paintings or readable novels, and yet they prick and stir the conscience of the world.

In fact, since the days of the non-cooperation movement, it will not be untrue to say that the average middle-class Indian's mind has been obsessed with politics and certain groups of people who had prided themselves on their cultural accomplishments have receded into the background. In consequence, the so-called cultured community to-day are more or less unfavourably disposed towards Congress ideology. But there is another side of Congress ideals which is apt to be missed even by the university dons and outside intellectuals. They find it difficult to realise that they do function within the fixed orbit of Indo-British contacts and to confess that fear is the greatest enemy of culture. Now fear is not a matter of intellect, but of personal organisation. Of all fears again, that of breach of habit and its consequences is the worst. Therefore the conquest of fear is total, that is a moral effort. Once the total effort is made, man crosses the frontiers of Intellect and musters courage to become himself. It is this realisation that made Tagore pay his homage to the Khadi wearer in one of his noble poems. Even the Congress ideas continue to educate. A human being is not isolated; he is mixed up with his fellow-beings, who alone can help him to complete

himself. The fellow beings are the masses. So mass contact fulfils the Indian. Once a human being in India becomes an Indian, i. e. a man of India, he will feel competent to be cultured. Naturally this culture is different from the preceding. My personal opinion is that it is likely to better if it is complemented by Tagore's message and when it takes Jawahar Lal's as well, into its bosom. Jawahar Lal is very significant in the context of our subject. He is not religious, like Gandhiji or Tagore, his attitude is scientific, unlike his predecessors and he is a socialist, like his western compeers. He is Indian in his call for courage of all kinds. he is a patriot because dependence is galling in any shape, nay he is Brahmin in his punty of motives and standards of conduct. But he slips out of previous descriptions in his understanding of the role of the people. What to Gandhiji is the benevolent concern out of the fulness of heart is the march of historical process conceived in knowledge and practised in verity. Such active understanding involves self-rule. Jawahar Lal is a stern disciplinarian, not because he had a public school training but because he alone among the leaders to-day has a clear vision of the process and an understanding of its generalisations. To-day you cannot be cultured without being socialist in politics and economics.

Yet I feel that Jawahar Lal does not conclude the relation between our politics and culture. His affiliations to things of the mind, his abiding love for poetry and children his appreciation of the beauty and majesty of nature his at homeness with the world his spaciousness do not engage his full being and leave a void in our heart as well. One wonders if he has any deep regard for music or for painting. The whole world will be surprised if he leaves a Congress session to meet a Sadhu in the neighbouring cave, say as Akbar did. There is a sadness about him which comes out in his nostalgic writings. In its highest flights it crystallised into classic phrases. Who can forget the description of his visit to Ceylon after his father's death. It is all so sad, so very sad. Is the secret of Jawaharlal's culture one of a raging inner conflict? Partly so. Is another secret that of creeping amnesia of the soul to which Plato had referred? It is too big to be a personal secret. May be that the tragedy is not his own. Probably it is India's own spirit her own immortality that 'broods like the day a master over the slave'. A presence which is not to be put by Jawahar Lal when he fully submits to Gandhiji and Tagore, will have solved the problem of culture and Indian politics. Until then let us revere those who have cultured public affairs and kept them spacious. I do not know Mr Sinha, but I think that we owe him gratitude.




Dr Sachchidananda Sinha,
as Interim President of the Constituent Assembly, 1946

PRATAPA COIN OF KUMARAGUPTA

By

S. V. SOHONI, I. C. S.

 HIS coin (Allan's catalogue of coins of Gupta Dynasty, plate XV No. 15) was bought at Mathura. It has been recognised to be a very peculiar piece. No satisfactory explanation was obtained of the obverse type of this unique piece which appeared "to be restruck on another, perhaps non-Indian coin". Allan further remarks that "the central figure is Indian in style while the two others are quite foreign"—female figure to right closely resembling Minerva. Dr. Hoernle¹ thought that "it showed on the obverse three standing figures which appeared to represent the Buddha, worshipped by two women". For this similarity between the central figure and of the Kushan representation of the Buddha, see coin illustrated at plate XX, No. VII of Volume 1 of the Punjab Museum Catalogue. It is not understood why the Buddha should be worshipped by two women or why Kumaragupta I should put the Buddha worshipped on his coins.

2. V. Smith² was of opinion that "the legend showed that the obverse central figure is the King and the females must certainly be his consorts. The buds springing from the reverse lotus are noticeable and the title "Shri. Pratapa" has not been met with elsewhere". I venture to suggest that this type may have a simple explanation. The clue to it is given by the famous coin of Huvishka, described by Gardner in his catalogue of coins of Greek and Scythic Kings of India at page 150 (Plate XXVIII, No. 24). This piece shows three figures—Skanda, Visakha and Mahasena standing on a platform. All three are recognised to be different names of Kumara in a later period. •

3. On Kumaragupta's Pratapa coin there are three figures, and this coin belongs to the same standard as that of Huvishka. The very slight difference in weights is accounted for by the difference in the diameter of Kumaragupta's coin (due to wear).

4. The central figure in Huvishka's coin closely corresponds to that of Pratapa type in appearance and attitude.

1. Proc. ASB 1883 p. 144 •

2. JRAS 1889 p. 107.

5 But the two figures to the right and left are not males but females in Kumaragupta's coin. The change can be easily explained in terms of Kartikeya having been later on recognised to have other names but no separate entities. Thus there was no longer any need or justification to reproduce this god under various names.

What was realised to be superfluous in Huvishka's coin had to be replaced. I venture to suggest that the two feminine figures are meant to show wives of Kartikeya and that the figure to his left is that of Shashthi. Reference may be made to Dr. Agarwala's article in the journal of the Indian Numismatic Society for June 1943 in this connection. That Kartikeya was married and had two wives is not widely known.

6. Not that alone. The two lotus buds on the reverse noted by Smith in his description of this coin are an improvement by the mint master of Kumaragupta over the flowing fillet usually put in the right hand of Lakshmi on Gupta coins following an old tradition. Perhaps 'Shri of Shri Pratapa' appearing on this reverse side might have been meant to refer to depiction of Lakshmi as Shri compare the well known Mathura representation of Shri during Kushana period. The figure is one of the prettiest in the Gupta coin series. 'Shri Pratapa' thus gives some hint about the two sides of this piece—the god of valour viz. Kartikeya being shown on the obverse.

7. Kumaragupta has depicted Kartikeya on his other coins. It would not be surprising if his mint master were to show that deity in yet another form.

8. The foreign element in this coin is thus undoubtedly due to its having been copied from a Huvishka piece. Unless there is some concrete evidence it would be hazardous to guess about the occurrence of the phrase 'Shri Pratapa' on the reverse, resemblance of this type (obverse) to that of Huvishka, together with its find near Mathura pointing to its being struck after some successful military activity in that region.

A DEMOCRATIC WORLD ORDER AND INDIA'S PLACE IN IT

By

C. V. H. RAO

Schemes for a democratic World Order which is sought to be established are under active discussion, especially in the American Continent and the United States in particular. The grave threat to democratic freedom implied in Hitlerism and the Totalitarian New Order, into which a number of independent nations had been dragooned, have stimulated consideration of a World Order which the democratic nations can oppose to Hitlerism. The United States of America, claims to be the home of the new democracy and she is, therefore, more interested than any other country in the preservation of the democratic principle in a world from which democracy was in danger of being eliminated as a result of impact with powerfully organised hostile forces. Nothing therefore, is more inevitable and natural than that thinkers and writers in the U. S. A. should give expression to their alarm at the rude shaking which the democracies and democratic ideals were subjected to on the European continent.

Among the more outstanding schemes designed for the purpose of strengthening the democratic ideal and safeguarding democratic freedom, mention may be made of the scheme formulated by Mr. Clarence Streit, author of 'Union Now' and 'Union Now with Great Britain'. Mr. Streit's scheme is for an immediate federal union between the United States of America and Great Britain, the two democracies on either side of the Atlantic, which will be a preliminary to a larger federal union between a number of other democratic countries in Europe and of the British Commonwealth which he envisaged in his earlier book 'Union Now'. We are led to believe that the inspiration for Mr. Streit's latest thesis is drawn from the dramatic offer for a Union between Great Britain and France proposed by Mr. Churchill just prior to the unfortunate military collapse of France in June 1940. Every effort has been made by Mr. Streit to make his scheme fool-proof even as in 'Union Now', he has formulated a scheme for union between the United States and the six British democracies, namely the British Dominions and Britain and seven or eight other states. If only Mr. Streit's plan can be carried out, into practical effect during the pendency of the war, there will perhaps result from it a powerful combination of democratic forces before

which Hitler's 'New Order' would be shattered to smithereens. American aid to Britain in the war is intensifying both in scope and volume but isolationist impediments, Neutrality Act limitations and Lease and Lend restrictions—all impose certain though not very great handicaps to that aid being wholesale and complete including even actual military assistance. These handicaps stand in the way of the 'all-out' effort by the U S A. about the necessity of which there can be no two opinions. A union between Great Britain and the U S A. of the type contemplated by Mr. Streit would at one stroke eliminate those impediments and handicaps from the field, and would facilitate the two democratic countries confronting Totalitarianism with tremendous forces with confidence and with sure prospects of victory.

The immediate objective of Mr. Streit's book is to promote this union. But apart from that immediate purpose, the book read in conjunction with his earlier work *Union Now* contains a scheme for a democratic world order, on which necessarily significant attention will be concentrated when the question of post war reconstruction plans come to be discussed. It is not necessary nor is it possible to refer to all the arguments of Mr. Streit in these remarkable and extremely thought provoking books of his. To mention that there will be overwhelming approval, in theory at least, to the plan formulated by him subject, of course to certain obvious qualifications which especially we in India cannot ignore. Peace and progress, order and material prosperity in the post war world can be consummations capable of attainment only when there is closer and more purposeful collaboration and co-operation among the countries, which have fought to exterminate Hitlerism, in political, economic and other affairs than had been the case at any previous period in history. The new world order must be based essentially on the internationalist ideal much more than any previous political order had been in order to be able to endure. The Versailles settlement and the League of Nations, which was established as a part and parcel thereof, failed to be effective instruments for world peace, for preventing unprovoked aggressions and for prohibiting certain nations from proceeding with rearmament in defiance of a vital provision of the covenant and mainly for purposes of aggression. The real causes for the debacle that overtook the League of Nations and the world system that it represented are too well known to need reiteration. No institution like that could survive the lamentable lack of a genuine psychological background for the essentially great and idealistic principle that it stands for and the ineffective guarantees of penalties against violators of its basic ideals which the covenant inherited. The real international spirit which could make a success of such a scheme was absent among the member States especially the more prominent

among them, while the United States, with whose President, the League idea originated, unfortunately stood out of the scheme from the very commencement. Selfish and self-regarding nationalism proved the rock on which the League foundered. The same process encouraged the growth of the black shadow over the world's horizon that is Hitlerism and rendered the second great war possible, and inevitable.

Mr. Clarence Streit's analysis of the situation leading to the failure of the League of Nations and his insistence on the need for a Federal Union of democratic countries, with the British and the American fleets as the guarantors of that union are, therefore, irrebuttable even as the persuasive manner in which he presents his arguments in their favour is irresistible. No wonder that a growing volume of public opinion in the United States and even in Britain is coming under the banner of his compelling ideas and their influence. The necessity to win the war first and foremost is one of the main reasons which is responsible for this intensifying popularity of his views ; for no plan for any World Federation or for any other international device, appropriate and adequate to preserve the ideals and the facade of democracy, can be successfully implemented without the prior destruction of Nazism. The solid conservatism of the Britisher would not in ordinary circumstances facilitate his entertaining the idea implicit in an Anglo-American federation, which, in the present circumstances and even in the future, would give the U. S. A. a place of pre-eminence in such a union. But the exigencies of war constrain him to take many things for granted and one of them is the growing tendency to regard an American alliance or a still more intimate relationship with the U. S. A. as of undeniable importance. Even otherwise, however, the validity of Mr. Streit's case is unquestionable.

Nevertheless it would be foolish to ignore some of the formidable, practical difficulties in the way of the realisation of Mr. Streit's ideal of which, in his enthusiasm for his favourite theme, he may consciously or unconsciously take a complacent view. The scheme (taking into account that part of it relating to the union between Britain and the United States) takes it for granted that the masses of the people of the two countries, in spite of their well-known linguistic and cultural affiliations and in spite of the common danger that confronts them both at the present moment and if Hitler triumphs, would accept without demur the merger into a federal union. The implications of such a scheme are calculated to be too complicated for the comprehension of the ordinary British or American citizen, even if we do not take into account the fact that in any such union at the present moment the U.S.A. would necessarily come to occupy a dominant position

and Britain that of a subordinate one. Further can a citizen of Ohio State in the U S A. for instance, feel and think in the same way, on even some imperative common problems as a citizen in Suffolk or Norfolk in England? Their mental make up and their intellectual background is either too restricted for such comprehensive thinking, or even supposing they can do so, will it be possible for them to do it with any degree of genuine enthusiasm. A common danger, like a war, will indeed engender a vague community of feeling and impress the need for unity of action as it has produced now, but when the danger passes, the old narrow provincial or national loyalties are more likely to assert themselves than not. Mr. Street will, of course, argue that the very existence of a union will induce and promote the necessary commonness of outlook. Possibly it will be so and time will perhaps work out changes whose scope and intensity cannot be gauged beforehand. The fact of a union in existence we may agree, is likely to be a sort of educative influence in its favour and the British people may reconcile themselves to it as they reconciled themselves to a union with Scotland in 1707.

This is essentially the most powerful argument that can be advanced by a Federal Unionist in support of his anticipations about the success of his scheme. But at the same time a fundamental consideration that the Federal Unionist cannot afford to forget is this that at least so far as economic problems are concerned there has been within recent years a pronounced movement away from Internationalism and in favour of economic nationalism. That movement again is the unfortunate concomitant of the failure of all well meant efforts at evolving an international economic system after the last great war. There is every indication that the present war will again bring about a swing of the pendulum in the direction of internationalism as all wars do during which national even as individual selfishness gives place to generous feelings of world brotherhood and a movement in favour of the abolition or the toning down of economic barriers. But it can only be a matter of speculation whether the movement will be sufficiently strong to survive a few years of peace though we will hope that it will do so and thus facilitate the building up of a stable international economic system based on a common currency common tariffs and common financial system for all the countries that may join a federal union. Even in this regard the possibilities of the plan succeeding are greater if it is confined to an already existing political group of nations like those in the British Empire than if it is extended to include such widely disparate and divergent units as all the nations of Europe or even those nations subject to the domination of Hitlerism. The evils of intensive

spirit of economic nationalism can be carried to excess as in the case of present day Germany, with its senseless and irrational insistence on what is known as the scheme of national socialism, which is neither really national nor genuinely socialist. The feeling of economic nationalism cannot possibly be completely eradicated even in a best-ordered international economic system. But a genuine brand of economic nationalism is not necessarily unadjustable with a genuine brand of economic internationalism.

On the other hand, to doubters as to whether a more comprehensive federal union scheme, to which the union between Britain and the United States is to be only a preliminary, will secure the allegiance of such widely differing population such as those inhabiting the United States, Great Britain, South Africa and Australia, the reply that advocates thereof give is, what is the alternative? Yes; what is the alternative, especially when it is realised that different parts of the world are becoming increasingly inter-dependent upon one another for trade, commerce, military assistance and so on, and when the continuance of innumerable, and most of them insignificant, sovereign, national states provide an encouragement to aggressors anxious for living space at the expense of their smaller neighbours? This supreme and paramount consideration has to be faced and provided against; and it can be provided against only by the promotion of common action among those peoples, who ideologically think together and can act together in defence of that ideology. In its turn again such common action can become a possibility only when there is a common political organisation to engender and direct the common action and to which all the concerned countries are prepared to concede rights which can facilitate discharging its onerous responsibility. On the other hand if democracy is to survive in the world those who are democrats should display a great capacity for taking great decisions. They must be capable of dynamic action and one aspect of this dynamic action is the capacity to coalesce in defence of the common and supreme ideal to which they owe allegiance. We thus come ultimately to the point where the indispensable necessity for a federal union of all the democratic countries, beginning with as many of them as are prepared immediately to acquiesce in the arrangement, becomes an inescapable factor.

In such a Federal Union, America certainly and the British Commonwealth countries equally so, will be the principal participants. The instinct of self-preservation, should play as great a part in inducing them to do so as political sentiment and the fact that they constitute a *bloc* of countries among whom closer co-operation and common action is more feasible than among a conglomeration of countries

not so closely bound together. We cannot be unaware, as I said already of the differences, sometimes acute, in outlook and feeling even among the different members of the British Commonwealth. Nevertheless the possibility of those differences being reconciled and tided over is greater in their case than in the case of differences between say between Britain and Denmark or America and Poland. It cannot be ignored that the United States of America Great Britain and the different British dominions not even excluding Eire if necessary, can constitute a formidable combination of democratic forces which will prove a bulwark for democracy and against totalitarianism of any description. The future security of the world and the preservation of world peace and the evolution of new world order in which democratic principles will remain supreme, is intimately intertwined with some sort of a Federal Union being established among these countries. Whether it should be preceded by a Union Now as Mr Streitt advocates, between the U S A and Britain or whether it should be brought into existence and on a larger scale as suggested after the war, is at best an academic question. Mr Streitt's scheme for an immediate union between Britain and America is not likely to materialise if only because firstly, the isolationist sentiment is still powerful in the U S A and secondly because Britain will not feel the imperative necessity for such a Union so long as she is in a position to continue the war on the present basis when what she needs is America's material assistance in a maximum measure more than anything else. A state of sudden and grave emergency such as that which arose when France was on the point of collapse will conceivably alter things and pave the way for it. But it is the one scheme that so far as one can foresee, will hold the field after the war when a state and permanent peace system has to be evolved.

In any case in any scheme for an international organisation that will be discussed even at the end of the war we cannot afford to repeat the mistakes which made a collapse of the League of Nations system possible. That will be a disaster of the first magnitude. It will mean the final debacle of democracy and extinction of what is known as democratic freedom in the world. Whatever organisation is brought into being must be built on firm and solid foundations with sufficiently effective guarantees for its successful functioning. It will be even essential—in fact it is imperative that those who plan the World Order should limit their vision to the practical necessities of the situation and should fundamentally relate their schemes to the progress that men's outlooks have achieved and not to go in advance of world public opinion and in short should proceed slowly but surely and firmly. The whole scheme requires idealism of a type not ordinarily

to be found among the common men. Human limitations should not be ignored in building up human institutions. Mr. Streit's scheme may be fool-proof on paper; but it will have to contend against difficult rocks and, therefore, his scheme should be discussed and threshed out in the cold shade of reason before it can be made fool-proof in its actual working also.

When we have made the above analysis of the position pertaining to the establishment of a post-war World Order and seen the prominent part which the British Commonwealth countries and the United States can play in it and will inevitably play, the question that raises to my mind is : What is to be India's place in that order and what contribution she can make to it and how? It is unfortunate, but it is nevertheless a fact, that in almost everyone of the proposals for a Federal Union of the democratic countries, the authors limit their vision to the North American and the European continents and cannot extend it beyond their confines. They forget, but they cannot continue to forget, that there are countries outside the boundaries of these continents like India and China which, alike by their colossal resources and by their great strategic position as well as by their firm adherence to the ideals of freedom, peace democracy, should occupy an outstanding place among nations incorporated in the future federal union or any other international system. To ignore them is to shut one's eyes to stern realities. To minimise their strength, both potential and actual, is to defeat the very purpose for which all such schemes are being laid. There can be no denying that India with her hoary traditions and with her immense contributions to world's thought through her philosophical and religious works, can make a very substantial contribution not only to the establishment of a new World Order but to its preservation. But there are certain inhibiting factors which preclude her doing so in the existing circumstances. She must emancipate herself from the deadening effects of those factors before she can once again rise to the full height of her national stature and take her incontrovertible place in the world comity of nations. The first necessity is that she should be free to exercise her right of political self-determination. The second is that her economic future should be entirely within the control of her own people to be determined in accordance with the best interests of the country subject of course to the obligations imposed on her by an international economic order. Her honourable place in the British Commonwealth of Nations should, therefore, be assured beforehand. She could not be a hewer of wood and drawer of water in the scheme of that Commonwealth and yet take her rightful place in an international system. On the other hand, the British Commonwealth would be repudiating the appellation of a 'Commonwealth' with India occupying the position and

status of a dependency. A Commonwealth postulates the existence of conditions of equality, freedom and honourable partnership for all member States composing it. The British Commonwealth will be sadly missing its purpose unless and until India is liberated from Britain's grip and the self-determination principle made applicable to her without reservations. That widely advertised document, the Churchill-Roosevelt 8-point declaration from the Atlantic, will be a document with the soul removed from it, so long as the Churchill interpretation of its provisions that India is not included within its scope stands unamended.

Granted the right of self-determination and the consequential right to freedom and equality and the fullest opportunity to develop her strength and resources to the maximum extent, India's contribution to world peace and world order can be of the most substantial character. She can then occupy a place in the counsels of the world which will redound not only to her own credit but stabilise and strengthen the foundations of the international system. It is something unimaginable and incalculable, the immensity of the strength which a country like India, her 400 millions of population with her traditionally practised doctrines of peace and harmony among men, can bring to the common pool. It is sometimes a matter of wonder to persons like me whether the average Britisher or even of an average British statesman's incapacity to appreciate and to gauge in a proper measure the burning desire of India for freedom is not the consequence of the appalling hugeness of the Indian problem and its complexity and the potentialities that lie hidden within the bosom of this vast land, all of which can be liberated only when the pure breath of freedom leads to the emancipation of her chained body and soul.

Let those who are planning a new world order after the war who ponder over its possibilities, who sing its glories, plan, ponder over and learn to sing the glories of India's liberation and freedom as an indispensable preliminary to the realisation of their ideals and ambitions. It may be predominantly a feeling of patriotism that makes an Indian like myself wax enthusiastic about this country's greatness and her greater potentialities. But it should be regarded as a practical business proposition by the planners of the World Order if they are really serious and earnest about what they are planning. I presume that they will not plan for such an order merely to see it crumble after a short period of experimentation, as unfortunately was the case with the League of Nations. They should plan it on the other period, on a permanent basis. They should be planning it as the most effective and powerful instrument that can be conceived for the preservation of world peace both political and economic, and for the preservation of the

democratic ideal and the prevention of periodic armageddons. If that is so, the first and most important thing they should take into consideration is to induce Britain to discharge her inalienable duty towards India and discharge it fully and unreservedly. Serious discussions about the world reconstruction for peace should be preceded by India's emancipation from British thraldom. At the peace conference that is being held to settle the details of the peace system, India can with her vast Muslim population be a powerful factor in preserving the Muslim countries' friendship for the democracies and stabilise European politics as well. She will make therein her great contribution to peace in the shape of the ideal of non-violence, which one of the greatest Indians of the age, is making every effort to inculcate and promote among his own countrymen at present.

Another equally essential pre-requisite is that the constitution which India will have hereafter should be based on accredited and acknowledged democratic principles. Mr. Streit, the author of 'Union Now', rightly postulates, in view of what happened with the League of Nations, that any scheme of a world political organisation should depend not merely on a pact made between the Governments of the concerned countries but on the development of a sense of responsibility of the individual citizens of the participating democratic states. It is the ideal that democracy should be the basis of the future world organisation that leads Mr. Streit to the conclusion that the Governments of participating countries should be short-circuited to bring about a direct relationship between the citizens and the Government of the Democratic Federal Union representing the World Order. We in India want that it is democracy of the genuine brand, that is to say a system in which every individual citizen will have a say in Government, direct or indirect, and can call those actually carrying on the Government to account, that should prevail in this country and not the pseudo-democracy which some official and British quarters seem to be canvassing support for. If pseudo-democracy with its inevitable concomitant of class privilege comes to prevail, Indians will find it impossible to preserve that unity of outlook and objective which is of prime importance in their country making her contribution to a world democratic system. Divided within, India cannot present a united front outside. But yet these are schemes going the round of Indian political whispering galleries which are calculated, if they are accepted, to disrupt and disintegrate the national unity of India. It is exceedingly regrettable that some of these schemes should be suspected as having the silent countenance, if not the active support, of the British Government and of high British officials. There is an urgent and immediate necessity for these latter to repudiate the suggestions of their complicity in plans for disrupting India, from whatsoever quarter they may emanate,

It is also imperative if India is to present a united front to the world that her future constitution should itself be federal in shape and broadbased on the support and strength of the people of British India and of the rulers and subjects of the Indian States. Only an all India Federation comprising of both parts of India in which there will be scope for a strong Central Government which will keep the centrifugal threads effectively in hand can meet India's future national needs and enable her to maintain her international position. Neither Pakistan nor Hindustan can be an effective substitute for Indiastan, in which both of Pakistan and Hindustan should be merged as they are at present merged and as they have been merged for centuries together. This is the ideal which every Indian whether Hindu or Muslim, Congressman or Muslim Leaguer, citizen of British India or subject of an Indian State should constantly keep before him. If it is so kept it is easy to visualise the glorious future that India will have a future when as a free country, she will play her God-ordained part as one of the leaders of the world. It is a vision which no Indian Hindu or Muslim, Christian or Buddhist, or Sikh can contemplate except with feelings of genuine pride and joy. That vision may at present be obscured by the fog of communal dissensions, political bickerings or other impediments but there are beacon lights on the way which indicate that India is on the road to attain her destiny.

A GREEK SAYING

By

AN OLD ADMIRER

"HOM the Gods love die young" is a Greek saying the words are perhaps more well-known as a quotation from Menander, though the words are perhaps more well-known as a quotation from Byron. It has been misinterpreted indeed. The Greeks set a great store by the qualities of youth, that they could not think of a better blessing than that a man should have the youthful spirit to the end of his life, than that he should die *young*, however old he may be in his years.

It is unfortunate that the point in the saying should have been completely forgotten and we should be expected to believe that man should pay the penalty of early death, if he developed qualities of goodness pleasing to the Gods. Strange beyond the reach of reward indeed, unless death is looked upon as a prize beyond the reach of ordinary mortals to be achieved only by the good. This was of course not the Greek conception of death, though eminent people went to Elysium or the Islands of the Blest or, as Plato thought, each occupied a luminous sphere of his own in the heavens. Even the jealousy so characteristic of the Greek Gods would not justify the tragedy of death crowning a life of goodness.

It is, however, easy enough to understand the psychology of the error. Among the numerous consolations with which mankind has sought to invest the tragedy of their goodness and of death is the flattering feeling that the young die because of innocence, though there is no compensation for the feeling of loss, still all the people who reason really to suppose that the Gods are so unjust as to kill all the people who have risen to heights of nobility or virtue, the ideals presumably envisaged for them by the Gods themselves.

As explained already, the Greeks meant something entirely different. It was their strong wish that old age, with all its handicaps of body and mind, should not overtake us and a man should have the satisfaction of dying *young*, in the possession of all his physical powers, his spirit also at the same time, not being soured with gloom and cynicism, as the result of old age, modern science have undoubtedly a fact against which all the advances of

been helpless. But it does make a difference whether old age is accompanied by the gradual loss of physical powers, and what is more serious the enfeeblement of the brain or one lapses into death in the full possession of his faculties as in the case of some individuals obviously favoured by the Gods. Old age does not necessarily mean paralysed limbs, absence of sight, inability to hear and a life of misery and unhappiness from which death must be a relief. Most pathetic of all is the softening of the brain the loss of memory and reason and the failure of the noblest faculties with which God has endowed man. In such cases it would undoubtedly be wished, as Napoleon did with regard to his own career of glory dimmed at the end that human beings should know when they should die.

It was however, to the realms of the spirit that the Greeks intended special reference in this saying. Lucky indeed is the man who does not lose the priceless spirit of youth, in spite of his advancing years. Setting aside the exaggerated claims which have often been made on behalf of youth and ignoring also the unchantable observations which have been poured on old age since the days of Aristotle and Horace it must be said that youth has certain characteristics, whose preservation in old age constitutes undoubtedly a triumph for man. If the saying is true that a man is only as old as he feels, there is no reason why such a pleasant consummation should not be possible.

To be young is to have almost endless capacity for the enjoyment of life and not feel satiated by its pleasures. It is to possess a fine susceptibility to Friendship Beauty and Love which are among the highest attributes of happiness. It is to kindle with a generous enthusiasm for all good causes unmindful of the dangers involved and without any overcautious calculations of gain or self interest. It is to have a healthy outlook on life without any trace of cynicism and not lose faith in human nature. It is above all, to realise that life is worth living so long as there is wrong to right in this world and humanity can be helped at least by a few steps on its onward march.

It is no exaggeration to say that it has undoubtedly been the privilege of the person in whose honour the tributes in this volume have been offered, to have preserved these great qualities even in the evening of his life, at the age of seventy-five years. The Gods have been generous to him and nobody can wish him better than that old age should never overtake him and he should continue to enjoy the rich heritage of youth to the last day of his life.

